113
171
193
197
● 836

Tupi-Guarani SL6
Bacairi SPT ●
Arawakan Indians SR6
Cariban Indians SR7
Carib SR9
Macusi SR11
Rucuyen SR12
Cumana SS9

/For information on the terminologies and nomenclatures in the native vernacular applied by the Carib-speaking and some other northern South American tribes to various species of mammalian fauna in their habitats, see H Hingston, SS16 Fauna, Category 116, particularly pp. 4A-10B./

/79 cont./

193 The simple result is that all kinds of things that do not belong to it are regarded as part of the stem, and the form is used on all kinds of occasions where it is appropriate neither according to person, time sequence, or other nuances contained in it. The organic structure of words becomes rigid, and the sentence becomes a mosaic of the crudest sort made up of nothing but fragments. But there is provision for understanding; for the Indian, with his talent for the characteristic, the chopped-off fragment of a word suffices completely for the entire sentence, and, what is worse, if one wants to make progress in the language, it is all the more agreeable, of course, if one needs only the clumsy content of the communication; he himself soon adopts the new manner of expression: fluent conversations are carried on by barter with stamped coins instead with living words.

126 192 (194) (153) What made my recording not a little difficult was the circumstance that the Bakaïrí did not understand my questioning tone. They imitated it instead of answering. Obtaining the names of the objects present was done without any trouble; they even anticipated the need, pointed to those I had not yet asked about,

126 193 and said the names. I went into great detail with the parts of the body because they are always joined with pronominal prefixes; thus the Indian does not say, for example, "tongue," but always, with the addition of the person, "my tongue," "your tongue," "his tongue," and thus there is a grammatical value in this category of the list. It was therefore well to note whether the part of the body whose stem one was asking for was shown on oneself, on the person questioned, or on a third person, for the answer was accordingly: your ɬlu, my ulu, his ilu, or in general kχulu, the tongue of all of us here.

126 192 536 825 Recording animal names was a pleasure, for here the imitation with sounds and gestures was the most artful. A snake, an alligator head, or the like was also drawn in the sand. The quantity of the many individual statements was a hindrance to me, since I did not know enough about the voices and the behavior of their animals; they offered me subleties in the distinction of species which, to their surprise, I was unable to appreciate, and

/79 cont./

126 192 536 825 sometimes I am afraid I betrayed what to them were incredible gaps in the most ordinary education.

The most difficult problem lay in the verbs, and, to be sure, not only because of the complication of forms. If I succeeded in writing down short sentences in which something was said about an occurrence that was just going on, even if I myself performed all kinds of actions, such as eating and drinking now of this, now of that, which were supposed to give them the content of a sentence, /80/ gross errors were nevertheless unavoidable. Unfortunately, they often said things that were different from what they were supposed to say according to my request and criticized the action instead of naming it. They were thinking for themselves and not for me. And in these efforts their readiness to imitate was disturbing to a high degree. I thought nothing would be easier than to obtain at least those intransitive verbs that could be evoked by unequivocal mimicry on my part; I would indeed need only to sneeze, cough, weep, yawn, snore, only to get up, sit down, to fall, and so forth, in order to be immediately rewarded with the matching words. But they either clung to the contemplation of the process itself, thought I wanted to go away when I stood up, righteously joined in when I yawned, because they, too, were tired, or were royally amused at my strange doings, and, amidst much laughter, would likewise abandon themselves to sneezing, coughing, and snoring, without, however, saying the redeeming words.

126 192 153

I made the best progress when I gave them the Portuguese word and applied the formula: the Karaíbe says it thus, how does the Bakaïrí say it? Here I finally almost always met with understanding and response; for they were mad about learning my language.

[811] They were very grieved that they did not understand me better, and, confusing hearing and understanding, they asked me to cure them. I had to put saliva on my fingers and with it rub the auditory entrance for them. Their comprehension of Portuguese was even more deficient than they themselves realized. They have

151 191 194

2: Steinen--1[illegible]D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1930 597 Bacairi 597
Bororo 595

B
153 /200 cont./
489 ceased to raging in the last cataracts, while dense campo wilder-
ness with sandy soil still prevailed in the landscape here, a vast
network of canals and lagoons developed downstream and, for
persons familiar with the winding waterways, in which the
stranger could not find his way, made communication there ef-
fortless and extensive, not only from village to village, but
also from the village to the plantings, and more fertile soil
made work more rewarding.

B
191 If we wish to use the schema of fisherman and hunter or
433 agriculturalist, we find a mixed situation among our natives.
The hunting of mammals naturally fell back before fishing
among the sedentary river dwellers. The latter was important,
both for the purpose of food and for that of use for technical re-
B quirements. Skins offered no advantages, since clothing for
251 warmth was not worn; the skin of a slain mammal was usually
252 not stripped off, but roasted as well, and to be sure, until it was
charred, when it tasted pleasantly crisp and salty. Hunting,
beyond that eagerly undertaken for large gallinaceous birds and
the other inhabitants of the river-forest, yielded only occasional
game and, if it were to have been carried on more seriously,
B0 /201/ would have required larger expeditions. We saw this later
433 among the Bororó, who also lived on a river rich in fish, but
252 among whom, conversely, the hunting of mammals predomi-
nated; they were away from home for weeks and returned with
large quantities of roasted meat; they did not as yet practice
agriculture.

B
181 Mentally -- and this is a highly significant point -- the
825 Schingú Indians, in spite of intensive agriculture, still lived
completely on the true hunting level. At any rate, with re-
gard to the Bakaïrí I can confirm this statement in its broadest
sense. I have described with what attentiveness they observed,
even in the village, every sound issuing from the forest, every
occurrence in animal life that they chanced to see. Outside,
on the campo or forest path, in the canoe, in the overnight
camp, the Indian always felt that he was hunting. He was not
aware of any gulf between him and the animal world; he saw

/201 cont./

only that all creatures behaved essentially as he did, that they had their family life, communicated with one another by means of sounds, had dwellings, sometimes fought with one another, and nourished themselves from hunting booty or from fruits. In short, he felt as though he were primus inter pares, not above them. He knew nothing about all those *good* things to the effect that there is a difference whether one draws conclusions in situational images or in concepts, and whether one acts purposefully according to associations which are inherited complete within the species, or according to tradition which is handed down by the parents by means of language. His myths and legends, which to us seem like pure fairy tales and animal fables and which he takes just as seriously as we do the sacred book with their doctrine, in which he lets human beings and animals mingle, would necessarily be only playful jests if he regarded himself as created out of a different substance than other creatures are. We can understand these human beings only if we regard them as the product of a hunting culture. They gathered the main body of their experiences from animals, and with these experiences primarily, since it is only through the old that one is capable of understanding the new, they explained nature, fashioned their world view. Accordingly, their artistic motifs, as we shall see, are borrowed, with amazing one-sidedness, from the animal kingdom. Indeed, their entire, surprisingly rich art is rooted in the hunting life and did not flower until a more peaceful existence provided protection for the body. From the outset I cannot refer often enough to these conditions, since otherwise we should not properly evaluate the material culture of the natives and should not understand their mental culture at all.

On the other hand, it is a fact that the products of agriculture -- except in the case of the Trumaí -- have been in the possession of our Indians since time immemorial. A comparison of the language furnishes irrefutable proof. It teaches us first of all that the tribes of the Schingú belong to different language families. It teaches us furthermore that in the case of each one the branching off from the basic people concerned took place

/Sub cont./

say simply that our Indians were not yet familiar with metals and were, for the time being, dependent on shells, teeth, and wood in their work methods, if only because in large part they did not even have more suitable stones.

And now I have come back to my point of departure. In spite of their agriculture and in spite of their land-cleaning with the stone ax, the Schingú Indians were not only able to maintain their hunting, but they had to maintain it, because fishing and hunting provided them, aside from a change of diet, with the indispensable tools for making weapons and implements.

Teeth. The sets of teeth of the piranha (Serrasalmus)*

* There were two species, a smaller black "piranya preta" or "olho de fogo" (fire eye),

Fig. 22. Fire-eye piranha. (1/4 nat. size/ as shown in the original illustration/.)

and a larger "pa,o amarello" (yellow maw), whose "yellow" is a brilliant orange.

served for cutting. They were opened with any suitable wooden hook and carefully examined: the lower jaw, four centimeters long and containing 14 small, triangular teeth, was then cut out with a shell. Hard things and soft things, the spines of the buriti palms or human hair, but especially all threads and fibers, were cut with the sharp teeth. They called my scissors "piranha teeth." Bamboo and other reeds were scored with them until they could

/205 cont./

be broken off evenly. A scarcely less important tool was furnished by the petite cachorra, or dogfish, called Cynodon zoologically, which has in its lower jaw two pointed teeth three to three and a half centimeters long, each projecting upward through a hole. The edge of these teeth, ground knife-sharp, was used for cutting, but chiefly for puncturing, for example, in connection with tattooing, for scratching, for example, in decorating the tortoise spindle disks, and for boring needs, as in the case of the arrows, in order to put through the threads for fastening the feathers and joints. /206/ The triangular pieces of ground which, as the scarifier, represented the most important instrument in the little surgery of the Indians, cf. Figure 13 /see p. 178/, were studded with the small, pointed teeth of the wahara fish, Erythrinus. The little teeth of the aguti, Dasyprocta aguti, served the same purpose. Of the rodents, the capybara, Hydrochoerus capybara, furnished indispensable scraping chisels with the front teeth of its lower jaw. the tooth, six to eight centimeters long, was fastened to a piece of uhi wood with cotton thread, or two teeth were lashed together and cemented with a little wax. /Figs. 23-26 appear here./ The arrow holes were likewise bored with the aguti teeth. Monkey teeth, pierced at the root and artfully plaited together into a chain, were a favorite belt or neck ornament.

Bones. Arm and leg bones of monkeys, which were kept in thick bundles in the little tool basket at home, served as arrowheads. They were ground to shape and, with their hollow tubes, mounted on the stick between the arrowhead and arrow shaft. The tail radiation of the ray was likewise an arrowhead. Small, pointed bones were added as barbs. /207/ Mammal bones had many uses the skin treated with the scarifier was rubbed with the thigh bone of the deer; we saw a splinter of a jaguar bone pointed to pierce ear lobes; the wax smeared over the lashing on arrowheads was applied with a bone. The front claws of the giant armadillo, Dasypus gigas, served man, as well as the animal itself, for digging and grubbing up the ground and were the earth hoe of our Indians. The spindle disks in many cases came from the ventral piece of the tortoise shell, which was broken to pieces with a stone. Jaguar

/297 cont./ Japan

clews were worn as neck-chains, fish somehow on the left side, a bone mask (arrow)as through the nasal septum adorned the old [illegible] himself.

Shells. The river shells were extensively used for cutting, less for cutting through than for scoring longitudinally, for scraping, planing, smoothing. The work shells brought back from the Camayurá /Fig. 27 appears here/ were identified by Miss Professor von Ihering. trunk, Anodonta, was the shell for scraping the mandioca root, "manihot pulp".

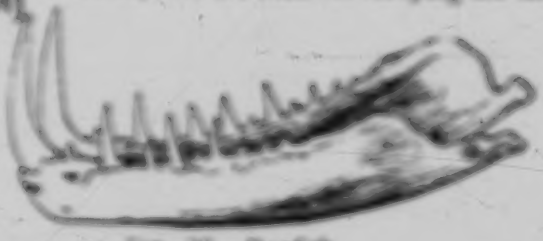


Fig. 23. Dogfish.
(1/1 nat. size /in the original illustration/.)

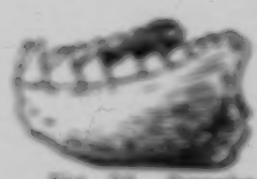


Fig. 24. Piranha.
(1/2 nat. size /in the original illustration/.)

[284]

Fig. 25. Front claws of the giant armadillo. (Grubbing hoe.) (1/5 nat. size /in the original illustration/.)

Fig. 26. Capybara teeth. (Scraping chisel.) (1/2 nat. size /in the original illustration/.)

the women sat on a couple of pieces of bamboo placed together, and they scraped, scrubbed, scratched, until their legs disappeared in the heap of parings. This shell also served as a plane to smooth the handle of the stone ax or the oar by means of lime scraping, not with the edge.

[322]

/207 cont./

but with a hole made in the center. The people bit off the outermost shell with their teeth and knocked the planing hole into it with the pointed shell nut. Another type of knadanya, ma-i, "little mussel," was also used for the fine scraping of wood. This and the other types were also used to store the pigments with which one painted himself red or black. They were usually hung on the hammocks. A second large shell for scraping nuts was mā, "mussel," a variety of the Lucina pulchrum Gray, brought back from the Antigua /Antiguata/ by Cuentinu. With the larger species, mā kunā, /208/ Tivela orbignyana, the bows were smoothed, and, to be sure, with the outer surface of the shell.

Fig. 27. Knife-shell and plane-shell.

A fine Nyssa, mā muki, was interesting because it had a sharp, pointed extension with which pikā fruits, for example, were opened. It corresponds best to our pocketknife, an instrument that was regarded very disapprovingly by the Indians because they were able to open it only with indescribable effort. They were as clumsy with it as we with the unfamiliar twirl-borer. The shell was hung around the necks when one set out on journeys; the fish and game animals caught were cut open with it; the shell was used to hollow out the little depression in the fire-stick, in which a second stick was twirled to the glowing point. For all carving of wood it was indispensable. Snail shells were used in many ways: pieces of Bulimus shells were used for chain ornament. Cf. page 170. Orthalicus melanostomus sometimes dangled in thick hangings on the mask costume.

/208 cont./

Feathers lend wings to the arrow, on whose shaft and two split halves of feathers are sewed opposite each other in spiral turns. Otherwise they seem to be used exclusively, but in great volume here, for ornament, such as ear feathers, feather crowns, feather caps, feather arm bands, feather cloaks (among the Kamayurá), and in hundredfold decoration on small ornaments, where little colored bundles hang on hammocks, combs, gourd rattles, arrow throwers, masks, etc. The most magnificent material was available, from the yellow, blue, red, and green of the arara, tanan, woodpecker birds, and parrots, from the beautiful stripes or speckles of the curassows, falcons, and owls, to the shimmering white of the heron and storks or the black of the urubu vultures. The big, broad, black-and-white striped flag of the Harpia destructa was magnificent.

The spoils of hunting and fishing therefore offered an abundance of the most necessary things. In particular it furnished tools for cutting, scraping, polishing, piercing, boring, scratching, and digging. Agriculture assured the natives a sedentary existence and improved their economic condition, but they still remained fishermen and hunters, though to a lesser extent. They were human without dogs, fishermen without hooks, farmers without plow and spade. They afford us an excellent example that teaches us how manifold the methods of work for the purpose of making a living could have been before the possession of any metal technique, an example that warns us about overestimating the importance of stone implements, which, of course are preserved the best and most plentifully for posterity, and about throwing indiscriminately into the great pot of the Stone Age everything that comes before the use of metal and, in comparison to the small span of time established for this, must embrace unimaginably long periods.

If one judges culture according to the extent and thoroughness with which the surrounding nature is exploited by the human beings, then our natives certainly did not stand on a low level. They hunted and fished with arrow /209/ and bow, they fished with net, catch-baskets, and weir-baskets, they had their fish

- /218 cont./

I shall sum up. Ancient agriculture is most compatible with the type of hunting practiced here. The Indians were primarily fishermen. The yield in their area on the upper course of a river was not sufficient for pure ichthyophagy; on the other hand, it was not small during the months when the fish traveled upstream in the rising water and were found in all the canals and lagoons in great numbers, or when, as the water receded, the opportunity for a catch in the artificially barricaded parts of the river branches became considerably greater. Fishing and hunting, furthermore, furnished the indispensable meat. There were no domestic animals in our sense. dogs were unfamiliar to the natives. He took pleasure in the colored birds, whose feathers he sometimes pulled out, especially in the talking parrots and crowing macaws. So far there had happened to each young walk around in the village, woodpeckers or honeycreepers, and kept in huge pole-cages, for the edification of the community, the spinning eagle, Harpyia destructor, or some other predatory bird. He had lizards hanging by their tails from the hammock, so that they would clean up a bit among the annoying cockroaches -- he had not succeeded any further in the utilization of animals, and though wild plants were established near the village to be used as demand, the rearing of edible animals was not considered. /219/ Indeed, the attitude that the Indian took toward the animal kingdom made him feel a definite repugnance about ultimately consuming animals that he had raised, just as we do not eat dogs.

The relative sedentariness connected with the life of the fisherman could not become permanent until the women learned to plant, to make pots, and to prepare flour. Although agriculture on the Schingú had already reached respectable improvement, nevertheless there were small indications that showed what its origin had been, at least here. People planted the useful plants found in the vicinity, each tribe acquired its own experience on its own soil, and they were disseminated by the women who, in war or peace, came to other tribes. The fact that the Bakairí-Karaiben were once furthered in this way in

/[illegible] cont./

Laterally hollowed end of the wooden support, holding it, and covering it with resin.

Sometimes a pierced, hollow carum nut is shoved up on the arrow shaft to slightly above the middle; one or two holes are cut into the nut on the side. In flight a high-pitched whizzing or whistling is heard. /[illegible]/ While the noise-making arrows are used only for bird hunting, the others are intended for all hunting and the shooting of fish. Those with barbs are exclusively fish arrows. Arrows with spoonlike notched wooden points do not occur on the Schingú except among the Yaruma, whom we regard as a southern group of the Shuduruhá /Mundurucu/ of the Tupi-ge /Tupi-de/.

The Suyá and Trumaí had arrows with long pointed bamboo splinters for war and for hunting jaguar. Spindle-shaped bamboo splinters up to 35 centimeters long and up to 30 millimeters wide, knife-sharp on the edges, are mounted on the wooden stick driven deep into the reed shaft; the wooden stick is embedded in a groove cut below along the inner surface of the splinter. And, to be sure, the pointed spindle is only loosely fastened with a little resin and thread; when shot it remains in the body that was hit, while the shaft with the wooden stick flies off behind it.

The most remarkable thing about the arrow is the feathering at the lower end. Two feathers, more correctly two halves of feathers, for the feather is split at the shaft, are carefully fastened in a spiral twist which goes around one-fourth of the circumference, each flag stands with the plane of its upper part perpendicular on that of its lower part, so that the flying arrow spirals through the air. The feathers are set in a row of small holes, which are made with an agouti tooth and enlarged with a pointed bamboo splinter, and, one may say, are sewed onto the arrow, the cotton thread is wound around the ends and is itself protected by being wound with waimbé bark (Philodendron). Usually the feathers come from gallinaceous birds, jakú (Penelope) and mutum (Crax), from the falcon, and from the blue arara. Where the hand grasps the arrow shaft there is a wrapping of waimbé. At the bottom a notch is cut in parallel to the upper part of the feathers.

/263 cont./

associated with the skins representation. In the field of painting, we come across such productions in the form of geometric ornamentation. Dots and dashes may be the equivalents of the old markings. But even such "simple" figures a triangles and squares, which one would think could be freely conceived by the most primitive artists, originated only through the stylization of representations, and, since they automatically recommended themselves to the technique as types, they easily won out over more complicated structures in the struggle for existence.

Now just a word about the motifs of our Indian art. They have been borrowed exclusively from the animal kingdom. Andree in his well-known /248/ article, "Das Zeichnen bei Naturvölkern /Drawing Among Primitive Peoples/,"* points out

*Ethnographische Parallelen und Vergleiche. n.s., Leipzig, 1889, p. 53.

that the plant only rarely plays a role and adds: "In order to arrive at an understanding of this phenomenon we need only remember that among our children, too, when they make their first independent attempts at drawing on the blackboard, animals and human beings in crude forms are represented first. The living, mobile animal is more apt to capture their attention, it also easier to grasp in its entire figure than the plant consisting of numerous leaves and blossoms."

This pertinent remark is in perfect accord with the relationship between gesture and drawing which I maintain. By means of gestures I imitate an animal, not a tree, and not only because the latter does not move actively. It is easy for me to express parts of the animal body by means of gestures, because in doing so, proceeding from my own body, if, for example, I wanted to depict a pair of donkey ears or some antlers, I would immediately indicate the position and the type of the organ, whereas I should be unable to express parts of a plant by means of gestures, unless I use words to help out. Among our Indians, however, drawing is only a special case: the animal motif dominates their entire

/206 cont./

mental world in every art and science, no matter what it is called, and there can be no foundation for this other than their burning culture.

The material interest in the animal precedes the formal or esthetic interest. The flower is art in secondary, exactly as it is in ornamentation: first the feather in the cap and then the little bunch of flowers on the hat. I see ornaments portrayed in the "picture writing" of the Apapocúva in the Grande do Sul. A palm tree would be just as easy to draw as a pine, but no palm in the north furnishes such indispensable food as the silvacastle formerly provided for the "bugre" /wild Indian/ of that southern province. Before art went also bread, if I may alter the meaning of the sentence somewhat, it went after meat and fish. I shall have to come back to this subject, especially in connection with the products of the ceramic art.

Sand drawings. They are at first a form of communication, like words. I have spoken of how the descriptive gesture readily and easily became a picture. Map drawings were the most common. Our second journey alone through the sand drawing of the arrangement of the upper Schingú, with which the Suyá geographer illustrated his statements; cf. page 126. "He enumerated all the tribes that are settled on the upper Schingú. In order to be quite clear, he drew the course of the river in the sand with his finger. To our greatest surprise, he drew the Xingú, the only one which he portrayed in this way, and, to be sure, entirely on his own initiative with curvilinear-like, tortuous course." (Durch Centralbrasilien /Through Central Brazil/, p. 213 /see I. Steinen, this file, p. 104/.) The Xingú, as we learned to our sorrow, was a true River Meander.

/247/ We saw the same thing among the Kuliseu tribes. The number, sometimes of tribes, sometimes of rapids, was indicated by dashes. Circles were houses, wreaths of circles, villages, corresponding to the actual arrangement of the circular houses around the large plaza. All these figures were also drawn with pencil in our book, while the accompanying words were taken down as dictation. A certain individualization, as in the

/247 cont./

Among the Nahuquá, circles on the ground indicated the place where pikí fruits, which are as round as apples, had fallen unripe from the tree and were burned.

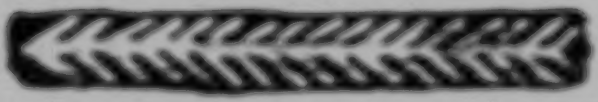
One day on the return trip our canoe passed a sandy beach which our Indian companions had already passed before us. Quite, to our /248/ surprise, the two fish drawn in the sand, which Antonio said were matinchans, we stopped, fished, and actually caught matinchans. It was just as though the sand had been

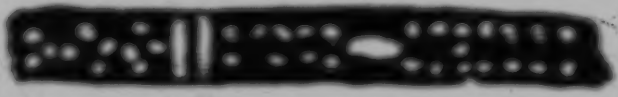
Fig. 34.
Sand drawing of a matinchan.

Fig. 35.
Sand drawing of a ray and pilu.

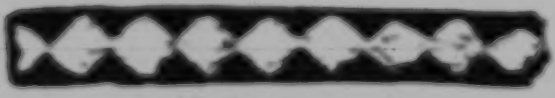
Fig. 36.
Mehinaku sand-drawing. (I [illegible] are /as shown in the original illustration./)

written there and an invitation to try his luck there too had been handed to Antonio quite intentionally. Another case remains more obscure to me than this instructive example. Almost exactly in the middle of the path between the harbor and the village of the Mehinaku /Mehinacu/ I found a ray and a pakú fish drawn in the sand. The narrow forest path widened at this spot into a small





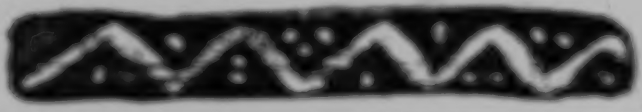
9. Pahi (b).



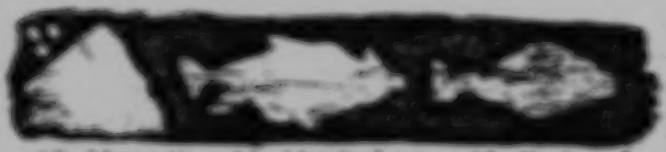
10. Bata.

Rakahi ornaments I.

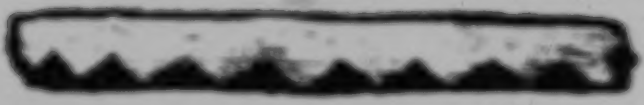
11. Ukeye mako.



12. Agau mako with head.

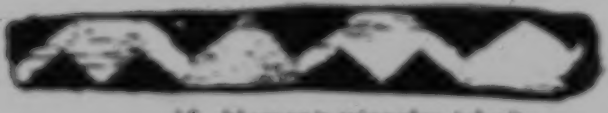


13. Women's triangle. 14. Mamuncham. 15. Kaimaui.



14. Women's triangles (aluri).

15. Women's triangles (aluri).



16. Women's triangles (aluri).

17. Palmito leaves.

Bakairí ornamentation II.

/197 cont./

Mitsel can in any way identify his illustration with that of the Indian artist.

Therefore it is comforting to find no difficulty with the center figure of the bottom row. It represents a macaco or Cebus monkey and is well characterized by the human-like limbs with the usual three toes and the long tail. For comparison I am adding the illustration of a Mehinaki flute, /216/ where the same monkey -- not inappropriately, since it too emits flute tones -- appears and is treated very similarly, except that it also enjoys a suck.

A very remarkable creature was depicted on one post (Fig. 61), a sort of female figure with ruffled habit and a wasp waist, two-fingered arms, and a triangular face under a hat brim. This is Cryptocercus atramus, the tokandira, tokanteira, tokangira of the Brazilians, a huge ant that does not have a social life, but crawls around individually on tree trunks.

Finally, meretchu designs, which are still to be discussed, were found on trees in the harbor of the Mehinaki.

II. Ornamental Drawing.

Ornamental frieze of the Bakairí. Meretchu and uluri. The Anetö ornamentation. Conclusions. Use of ornamentation. Calabashes, beiju turners, spindle whorls. Painting of pots.

On page: 64-65, in the report about the visit to the second Bakairí village, I mentioned the large wall frieze of pieces of bark painted white, which went around inside the house of the chief; in several places in a double row, to a length of approximately 56 meters. the width of the pieces of bark varied between approximately 15 to 40 centimeters. Our first impression was that these zigzags, dots, rings, chains of rhombuses and triangles were ornamental fancies which were attractive and charming, but did not mean anything beyond that. The bark, blackened with soot, came from a forest tree which the Bakairí called nofschi, the white or often yellowish loam was applied with the fingers, so

that one could not expect delicate lines in these Bororo dwellings. When I sought to enlarge my word list with the names of the decorations, I was surprised to hear several fish names familiar to me, whereupon I went to the heart of the matter. For each design I was given the name of a concrete original, and the more we concerned ourselves with the decorations on household utensils here and among the other tribes, the more we discovered that there was the same procedure everywhere. Ehrenreich then pursued the problem further among the Araguay /Araguaia/ Indians and there, to my delight, found only confirmation.

On the two plates 20 and 21 /see pp. 280-281/, Bakairí ornamentation I and II, which give characteristic samples of all the bark pieces, we see first of all in Numbers 14 and 15* two

* On Plate 21, as the result of an oversight, the numbers 14 and 15 occur twice.

well-drawn fish, the frequently mentioned, favorite fish of the Bakairí, the matrincham, and the many-boned kurumatá, /259/ Salmo curimatá. They are painted on with reference to the entire surface. The nondéu ikéito, "picture of the matrincham," was set down with positive elegance and dash. Next to it, in No. 13, we have an ulíri ikéito, a picture of the woman's triangle. And in this manner each decoration was said to be an ikéito. Sometimes individual ones are set apart by short vertical lines; cf. 3 and 4 or 7 and 8 on plate I /see p. 280/. Only a single picture is taken from the vegetable kingdom, No. 17. It represents the leaves of a small, "cabbage" yielding forest palm, yemarífli, a word that means hand-leaf. We see a number of twin pinnae pointing alternately up and down and arranged exactly like the uluris in No. 16, to us the figure gives the impression of a plaiting design.

Our attempts at interpretation, however, would soon come to grief. We observe among the decorations some in which the natural skin markings of an animal are reproduced, some in which the outlines of the animal are drawn, and some in which both are combined. No. 6 has the dotted and spotted markings of a catfish, schurífi, whose spotted skin has given rise to the Portuguese name

/339 cont./

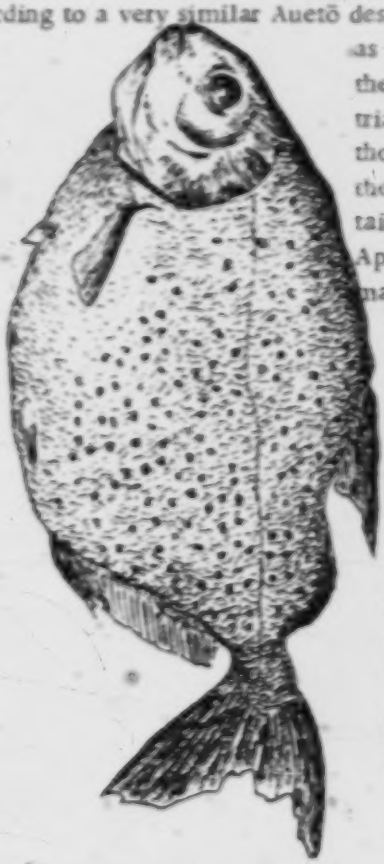
"pimada." We shall come across it again in connection with the mask costumes. No. 7 was described as the dotted markings of a ray, pinukái, while in No. 2 a second species of ray, schiwiki (a word generally present among the North Karaiben /Carib/ as chibeli, tipari, chupaé, etc.), is shown with the characteristic rings and spots of its skin.

Zigzags and wavy lines are snakes, whose characteristic skin marking, for which there was probably no room on the narrow strip, was cold-bloodedly added in the surroundings. Thus, No. 12, a common land snake or cobra of the Brazilians, has its tail and on the left and, on the right, the clearly recognizable head described to me as such, the dots are put in between the zigzags. After the artist had drawn the snake, he remembered to characterize it by its spots. The same thing happened in No. 1, in the case of the sukurí watersnake or anaconda, Boa scytale. On the other hand, in No. 11, the picture of the Boa constrictor, we see the marking of the snake skin divided up into numerous small triangles, it runs along the two edges of the board, and, to be sure, both times in such a way that the triangles project inward with their tips and border the unpainted background to form a chain of black rhombuses. According to my notes, the snake has a head, but it is difficult to see how the bit of a figure on the left, with which the drawing begins, can represent one.

No. 5, kána igári ikúto, the fish-bones picture, is readily understandable. It had the considerable length of three and one-fourth meters. The armored fish, No. 4, which joins the dividing line, makes greater demands on the imagination. This tupára of the Bakairí is the akará of the Tupí and the Acara or armored sheatfish of the zoologist, the cascudo of the Brazilians. On the other hand, the pakú fish in No. 3, Prochilodus, páte-ikúto, though we should scarcely have recognized them as fish, became clear to us from the picture of the kurimatá, koalú ikúto (No. 15). The fish /260/ figure in No. 15, with the entire surface filled in, appears only in a stylized outline in 3, the body becomes a rhombus, the tail a triangle, and both are used purely ornamentally in any number desired, next to one another or each one alone. Thus we see in No. 3 on the left two body rhombuses and a tail triangle of the

/260 cont./

pakú, while there are three rhombuses in succession at the right. In the two rhombuses on the left the gill arch sets off the head, as in Figures 34 and 35 /see p. 263/ and also in the carved bark fish. The same thing is repeated in No. 8, núki-ikuto, the picture of the nuki fish, which cannot be identified more specifically, but, according to a very similar Auetō design, may perhaps be regarded as a armored sheatfish, where, on the right, triangle, rhombus, rhombus, triangle succeed one another, as though two fishes were touching at their mouths, and, on the left, four tail-triangles are joined in a row. Apparently it is because of the skin marking of the nuki fish that it is distinguished from the pakú by triangles filled in with white. The pakú, on the other hand, is characterized by small dots; in No. 9 we see on the left a sample of the design on its skin and next to it, on the right, a number of body rhombuses, each of which has a little dot in the center, and which, if we wanted to associate them with fish, we should probably say were an illustration of an armor-like, scaly skin, which the pakú does not have at all.



[136]

Fig. 42. Mereschu. (2/3 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

I must admit that I did not quite know whether to laugh at our good-natured interpreter or to give in to a feeling of mute bafflement that may be summed up in the exclamation "how differently

/260 cont./

531 the world is pictured in these minds!" No. 10, semímo ikuto,
825 pictures of bats! Rhombuses strung together. Head, extremities, tail, where are they? We shall come across bats again, however, in other drawings and especially on the pots, where they are re-
[113] duced to the same rhombus form. In Brehm's Tierleben I, 1890, page 363, there is an illustration of Vesperugo noctula, the Abendsegler /"evening swift"/, which in the specimen on the left, wrapped in a wing membrane and hanging, shows us a somewhat similar outline; if it were stylized, it could also be developed into a rhombus. -- /261/ Let us now confirm the fact that on these two plates we have rhombuses in three patterns: that of the pakú, either an outline or spotted-surface design, that of the nuki, with diagonal triangles, and the one of the bat, which is simply filled in. The negative drawing of the bats, No. 10, would be exactly like No. 11, the Boa constrictor or jiboya snake. One sees, at any rate, that one can arrive at the geometric figure of the rhombus in very different ways.

171 Mereschu and uluri. /Fig. 43 appears here./ Strangely enough,
531 the frieze of the Bakaïrí house lacked a design which is the most
825 common one, not only among the Bakaïrí, but also among all the tribes of the upper Schingú. On our first journey we noticed it often enough, but did not appreciate and understand it. In my report Durch Centralbrasilien /Through Central Brazil/ it is found on page 163 /see 1: Steinen, this file, p. 42/ as a drinking-bowl design of the Bakaïrí and on page 213 /see 1. Steinen, this file, p. 104/ as a pencil drawing of the Suyá in the handsomest delineation: rhombuses whose corners are filled in with small triangles. Only after the discovery was made in the second Bakaïrí village was
[136] the explanation given. The original of the decoration is a small, flat lagoon fish, a Serrasalmo or Myletes, related to the piranhas. The one drawn by Wilhelm measured 19 centimeters in length, 9.5 centimeters in width, and was silver-gray with brown spots. No
[123] artist has ever had more success with a picture than did Wilhelm with this drawing. People came crowding up and all were positively happy to view it. And this was repeated among all the tribes. Even the Paressí in Cuyabá were delighted with it and

/261 cont./

identified it. We retained the Bakaïrí name of the important little fish, the one we learned first, for our use. In the Kulisehu languages the animal has the following names: Bakaïrí meréschu (the accented e /262/ long), Nahuquá irínko, Mehinakú kulupé,

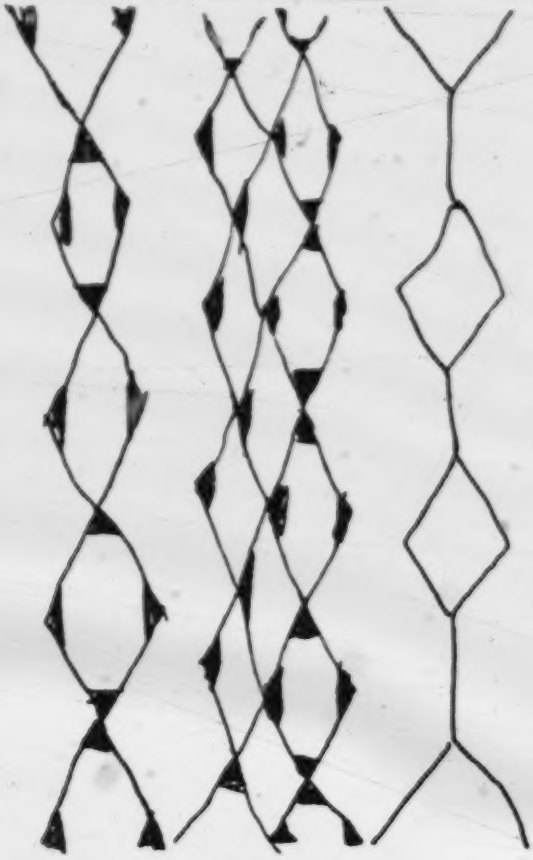


Fig. 43. Mereschu design drawn with pencil (1/1 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

B /262 cont./
*171 Kustenaú /Custenau/, kulupéi, Waurá warjái (French j), Yaulapiti
531 marirítyi, Auetö pirapévit, Kamayurá tapaká, Trumaí pakí.
●825 Everywhere the design has the name of the fish.

In Figure 43 /see p. 288/ the first and second designs were drawn in pencil by the Bakaïrí, the third by a Nahuquá. The noble Nahuquá, exactly as in my portrait on Plate 17, made it very easy for himself by being contented with the simplest outline imaginable, but he is alone in this negligent originality. The Nahuquá apply the design not only for the mereschu fish irínko, but also for a related one called íru or íno. A similar situation probably accounts for the fact that the Waurá word differs from that of the Mehinakú and the Kustenaú.

B
531
532

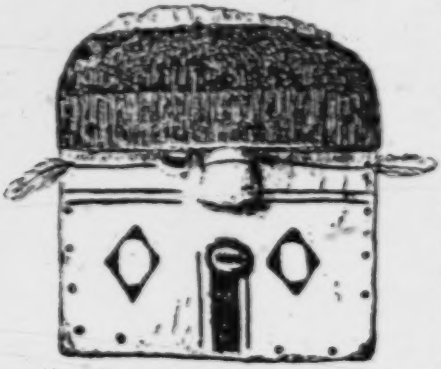


Fig. 44.
Wooden mask with mereschu design. (Gull, Bakaïrí.) (1/6 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

Figure 44, the Bakaïrí wooden mask, shows the mereschu design in typical fashion. It is especially in the painting of the masks that it plays the greatest role. The rhombus corresponds to the body of the fish and the four filled-in corners are head, tail, dorsal fin, and anal fin. The execution of the corners varies in plenitude, so that sometimes an octagon, sometimes a square is left inside. According to our feeling, such a filled-in triangle can only correspond to the head; we can, if necessary, imagine the fins drawn into the rhombus as set on, not drawn in, but for the time being we do not know what to make of the tail, which, as a triangle, ought to have its tip pointed inward and not outward, but we shall find the explanation later.

A
531
532

The two Auetö masks, Figs. 45 and 46 /see p. 291/, show how the mereschu typically appears as a surface design, one showing the decoration on wood, the other on cloth-like material. The mereschus are framed by lines; they are embedded in a net with

n³ [See p. 266--Analyst]

/265 cont./

531 No. 15 shows them in a strange succession, two adjoining ones touching only at one corner and alternately at the upper and lower edge of the bark board. In No. 16 four uluris lie with their bases alternately against the lower and upper edge and are separated somewhat by diagonal bars extending from base to base. The bars represent the grossly thickened groin strings and are analogous to the mereschu fish-net.

If I drew an equilateral triangle for the Bakaïrí, they laughed happily and cried "ulúri." It often appeared on their drinking bowls, covering the entire surface in a neat arrangement, and the dividing lines were put on with the awareness that they were originally strings.

[301] /266/ The four back-sticks of Figure 48 /see p. 294/, wooden cylinders which were worn on the back on strings for festival adornment in the third Bakaïrí village and represented stylized mandioca digging-sticks, show us various designs painted on in black in attractive execution. The first shows mereschu fish, the [825] third hanging bats, which we shall also come across among the Auetö, the fourth the agau snake corresponding to No. 12 of Plate 21, the second uluris. Never, as far as I remember, does the uluri triangle occur as a triangle composed of only three lines, except in the pencil drawing on Plate 17. The triangle is always filled in and thus gives an even more direct impression of the concrete original. /Figs. 49 and 50 appear here./

*[171] On Nahuquá whizzer sticks, cf. chapter "Mask Ornamentation and Dance Ornaments," III, illustration /see Fig. 122, p. 382/, zigzags of the same kind as those on the back sticks occur and here, too, are regarded as the picture of a snake.

531 The back sticks also gave us two more very strange decora-
825 tions. One of them, to our eyes different from the mereschu
[301] only by the smallness of the filled-in corners, was a grasshopper, tövíga of the Bakaïrí, tukúra of the Tupí. The design was combined with that of the mereschu fish; the long lines extending from the corners of the rhombus are the grasshopper legs.

B 531 825

/266 cont./

The other decoration refers to a "small bird," yaritamáze, of the Bakaïrí, which I cannot identify more specifically. One can easily see that it represents a flying bird. But the Indians demand more; they insist on the yaritamáze.

A 531 191

The Auetõ decorations are characterized by the most extensive stylization. In the "artists' hut" of the village, numerous designs were painted over the doors and on the wall posts, the most remarkable of which are assembled on Plate 22, "Auetõ ornamentation" /see p. 293/. All of them are made up of triangles and rhombuses. Whereas the Bakaïrí painted with white loam on blackened bark, the Auetõ applied black color on a light wood background or incised the design and rubbed color on afterwards. My cousin therefore used to call his Auetõ colleagues black-artists and his Bakaïrí colleagues plein-airists.

B [531] →

B [301] [531] [825] ←

A 531 825 →

Fig. 49. Back stick with grasshopper. (1/3 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

Fig. 50. Back stick with birds. (1/3 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

/267/ No. 5 is a genuine, quite pleasing mereschu design. No. 4, too, is supposed to represent mereschu fish. The same word, tepirapevetú, was given for both. This is, to be sure, the only example in which the mereschu rhombus is filled in, not only at the corners, but all over. On the other hand, the net, inside the meshes of which the fish are worked in, is treated in greater detail.

/269 cont./

possible for us to recognize the path, which, in the case of the former, is by this time revealed only in the names.

Among the Auetö the artistic form is already of primary importance; among the Bakaïrí the emphasis is still on the fact that the designs are likenesses. Better than all discussion, the strange situation among the Bakaïrí can be explained by one example among many, namely, the accompanying illustration of an oar covered with primitive "scribbles." The four circles are the ring marking of a ray, beyond the dividing line there follow mereschus in net meshes, then a pakú fish, and finally several "kuómi" fish, a design that does not occur elsewhere and the original model of which is a fish unfamiliar to me: pinukái, merĕschu, páte, kuómi. I am far from wanting to maintain that these four designs in their assemblage have a meaning; at most I believe that the person who made them wanted to put fish on an oar. It is extremely instructive, however, to see that, even though these scribbles undoubtedly do not mean anything in association with one another, that is, are not hieroglyphics, nevertheless each one is by no means simply an arbitrary

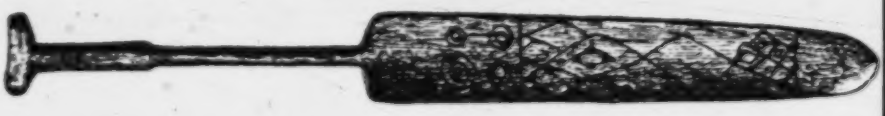


Fig. 51. Oar of the Bakaïrí. (1/8 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

Ray rings. Mereschu fish in the net. Pakú fish. Kuomi fish.

curlicue, but the pattern of a very definite object and thus actually represents the element of a hieroglyphic. We should never explain these patterns correctly by studying them; one must find out from the people themselves what they mean or simply give up. For my part, I have become extraordinarily humble about interpreting, but on the other hand, regard it as very superficial to dismiss as curlicues figures which we do not understand. Where /270/ figures are regularly repeated, where there are designs at all, one may be sure that the first people who drew them also had a definite model in mind, the meaning of which, however, their successors may have neglected and, under the influence of linguistic differentiation of what are now technical words, may have forgotten completely.

A
283
531 /276 cont./
four halves, and the hole is surrounded by a fifth central one, as is often the case in the incised designs as well.

B
*171
323
531
[532] Painting of the pots. On the clay bowls that represent animals, a drawing of the animal is sometimes copied; cf. Figure 87, the lizard pot, in the chapter on ceramic plastic art /see p. 333/. More often the medium-sized and large pots are painted, and, to be sure, on the outer wall, besides on the bottom, with parallel vertical stripes and designs. One sees applied especially often the tattooing lines of the Mehinakú, which go around the shoulder blades on the inside in angles or curves. Plate 15 /see p. 253/ with the large pots shows us this motif on the bottom of the pot in the upper left in an already richer form, in that the curves are not only double, as also occurs in the tattooing itself, /277/ but triple, and are painted with dots between the two inner ones and with serpentine zigzags between the two outer ones. Smaller curves, such as the women have tattooed on their arms, are applied above the center field, which is filled in with color. The pot bottom in the foreground contains a center circle with network and around it the serpentine zigzag as well as a few lines in the direction of the lateral stripes. The drawing is irregular enough to prevent us from seeing it as a "star," which the Indian woman did not have in mind.

000

III. Plastic Representation and Ceramics.

Introduction. Small chain-figures. Straw figures. Loam dolls. Wax figures. Wooden figures (dance birds and fish, mandioca digging-sticks, beijú turners, combs, stools). Pots.

B
*171
532 The art of the Indians in imitating body forms is disproportionately more advanced than that of drawing. From the start, as Ricci also points out with respect to the efforts of children, it has the great advantage that the difficulties of perspective drop away. The parts may be clumsily worked out, but they are in their proper place; it is not necessary to put them in the wrong

B
[825] place in order to show them. Just as in drawing, indeed to a greater extent since the number of motifs is far more considerable,

/277 cont./

*171 532 ●825 [535] the animal motif is predominant here. Aside from the fact that the pots are made to look like gourds, from which they probably arose, it is solely and entirely a matter of imitation of animals. Only in the dance art is there an equally inexhaustible abundance of motifs which arise from the joy in the hunting life and its observations.

*171 532 The plastic art, too, still permits one clearly to recognize that it was originally merely descriptive. We must not expect to be able to trace its course back as far as in the case of drawing, the best efforts of which still remain a sort of cartographic enumeration of the characteristic features and preserve these even in the geometric modification, but we have here another indication which is no less clear. In the fashioning of bodily forms the material that is being worked on comes to the fore much more than in the incising of lines. Just as rhyme often furnishes the thought, so does a form already present often furnish the motif. Thus, there is a very striking frugality shown in the characteristic features that are stressed; any small resemblance is sufficient to define the object as a particular creature. On a higher level, the native adorns a utensil with a freely invented motif, and this then sinks into geometric stylization exactly like the drawings.

*171 301 532 [237] /278/ Small chain-figures. The meager characterization is most striking in the small figures which are kept on the neck chains, mostly those of babies and very small children, between the seed kernels, the shell beads, and the nut beads. The material is wholly unimportant. A piece of the convolution of the rose-colored snail shell has an edge which runs into irregular projections and indentations: that is a crayfish. The Bakaïrí [239] [136] cut birds and fish out of the shell of the caramujo branco, Orthalicus melanostomus. We see a shield-shaped piece, the body, which at the bottom continues into a narrower tail and at the top into a sort of neck piece (Fig. 63). This "neck piece," however, is the head, commonly pierced at the side to receive the string, and seems to be treated quite indifferently. If the tail piece is notched like a fin, we have before us a fish instead of a bird. /Figure 63 appears here./

/280 cont./
285 were meant to welcome the participants from the neigh-
532 boring villages.) "They were made of leaves and straw,
535 /281/ mostly quadrupeds with long, thin bodies, consisting of practically nothing but spinal column and long legs, the tallest ones reached to our hips. Something that was evidently supposed to be a monkey was climbing up a pole." (Durch Centralbrasilien /Through Central Brazil/, page 168 /see 1: Steinen, this file, p. 50/.

[524]

Fig. 68. Invitation to the dance. Bakaïrí. (1/6 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

285 The maize figures, almost exclusively
532 birds, are extremely characteristic of their
825 enjoyment of art; we found the most attractive examples of them in the second Bakaïrí village. There they hung, almost as large as turkeys, on a long string from the vault of the dome, a strange sight for the person entering, who undoubtedly

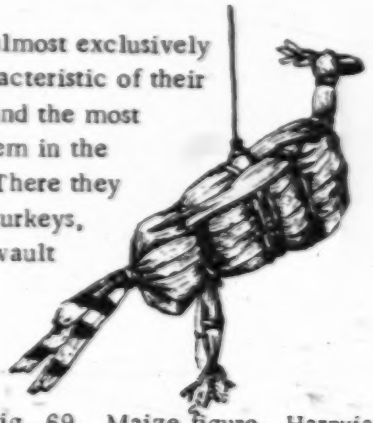


Fig. 69. Maize figure: Harpyia destructor. Bakaïrí. (1/10 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

[251] would think of idols and fetishes. But these fine birds were nothing but lovingly trimmed maize ears which were stored in their natural straw husks. I listed figures of Harpia destructor, a large and a small species of falcon, the snake

/281 cont./
285 532 825
bird, and the jabiru or giant stork. A human-like figure, a doll with a knob on top instead of a head, represented the imoto dancer in his straw garb. Otherwise there were always birds, and, to be sure, large birds. Often a pair of genuine tail feathers were stuck in or a few colored bands painted on the maize straw. The accompanying Harpia destructor (Fig. 69 /see p. 316/) is characterized by its strong beak and its crest, the tail feathers are banded with black; the toes are lovingly made out of twisted straw and where the foot emerges from the feathers of the leg there is a lashing. More impressive was the tujujú stork, it hung with wings outspread! A thick maize ear, as the center section, formed the body; only the stem was not cut off on it, but rather, projecting far out, formed the somewhat thin, but long beak. On either side eleven maize ears in a row were clamped between a couple of twigs, and this beautifully suspended bridge then represented Mycteria americana, the individual parts of which were broken off one by one and roasted. Nothing mysterious, nothing symbolic, only a stork which the Bakaïrí were very willing to roast crispy for the astonished European.

524 532 261
/282/ Loam dolls. A similar unexpected combination of the beautiful and useful is shown by a heavy, red, loam doll, 30 centimeters long, 24 centimeters wide, and seven centimeters thick, Fig. 70 /see p. 318/. Four rounded stumps, which are produced by two lateral and one lower /Fig. 70 appears here/ indentation in the body lump, are the extremities; a clumsy, cube-shaped projection, the head. Two little holes, the eyes; a depression, the mouth sliding sharply downward, and another little hole, the navel. This red loam man is an edible doll for children. It consists of the material which the Bakaïrí say their grandfathers consumed before they were acquainted with mandioca. Today the heavy, fat dough is probbably no longer a prized delicacy. The doll is also not very suitable as a plaything because of its weight. I was told that children licked it. We found similar dolls made of whitish, harder, nonedible loam, however, and saw nothing of loam being

/283 cont./

*171 524 532 its course with the furrow of the spine as well as where it ends with a somewhat deeply cut division, is free of all schematization. The head reminds one of that of an Eskimo in its round hood, which is the result, first of all, of the absence of a neck, and then of the shallow depression dug out below the hair line for the face and in which the nose was left standing. In the case of the loam man of the Bakaïrí, it can be seen on closer inspection that there was also a depression (but extremely shallow) for the face.

*171 239 532 825 Wax figures. Again, as in the case of maize, merely an artistic way of preserving the material. The black wax was shaped into pretty little animal figures, and, to be sure, most attractively among the Mehinakú, and thus hung up or placed in a basket until needed. Among the Bakaïrí we found a human figure better modeled than the loam dolls. The civilized Indians converted to Christianity have modified their saints out of wax and sell

Fig. 72. Wax figure: peccary. Mehinakú. (1/2 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration)./

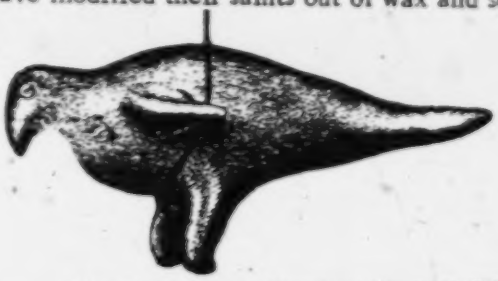


Fig. 73. Wax figure: karijo dove. Mehinakú. (1/2 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

them. The plastic wax best revealed what the artists could do. Some animals were very well modeled, for instance, the small peccary or tayassu, 6.5 centimeters long, of Figure 72, Dicotyles torquatus. The eyes are represented by a pair of small plates of shell, the nostrils of the proboscis put in deeply. Of other mammals we also saw the large swamp deer and a howling monkey in the form of wax figures. More common were the hanging

/283 cont./

birds, often painted red. In Illustration 73 /see p. 319/ we see a karijo dove; the figure, 15 centimeters long, with the short wing stumps, turned out very stiff.

Wooden figures. In discussing the dance ornaments I shall deal with the carved and painted wooden masks separately. The Bakaïrí, whose festival finery consisted mostly of straw caps, straw suits, and straw animals worn on the head, carved birds of light wood for their headpieces. In 1884 we brought back from the Batovy a wonderful head-structure (illustrated in Durch Centralbrasilien, page 322 /see 1:Steinen, this file, p. 16/), where seven colorfully painted birds are mounted on three long rods wound with flocks of cotton, /284/ birds which at that time I took to be swallows, but in the meantime have been able to identify as sanyassú (Tanagra sayaca Neuw.). Those shown in No. 74 are similar birds, the larger of which represents a falcon, the small one the nimble shore birds massarico (Calidris arenaria); there were many of them in the third Bakaïrí village on the Kulisehu. The neck is sharply set off from the body, a few lines show the markings of the feathers and a long stalk stuck

Fig. 74. Wooden figures: falcon and massarico. Bakaïrí. (1/5 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

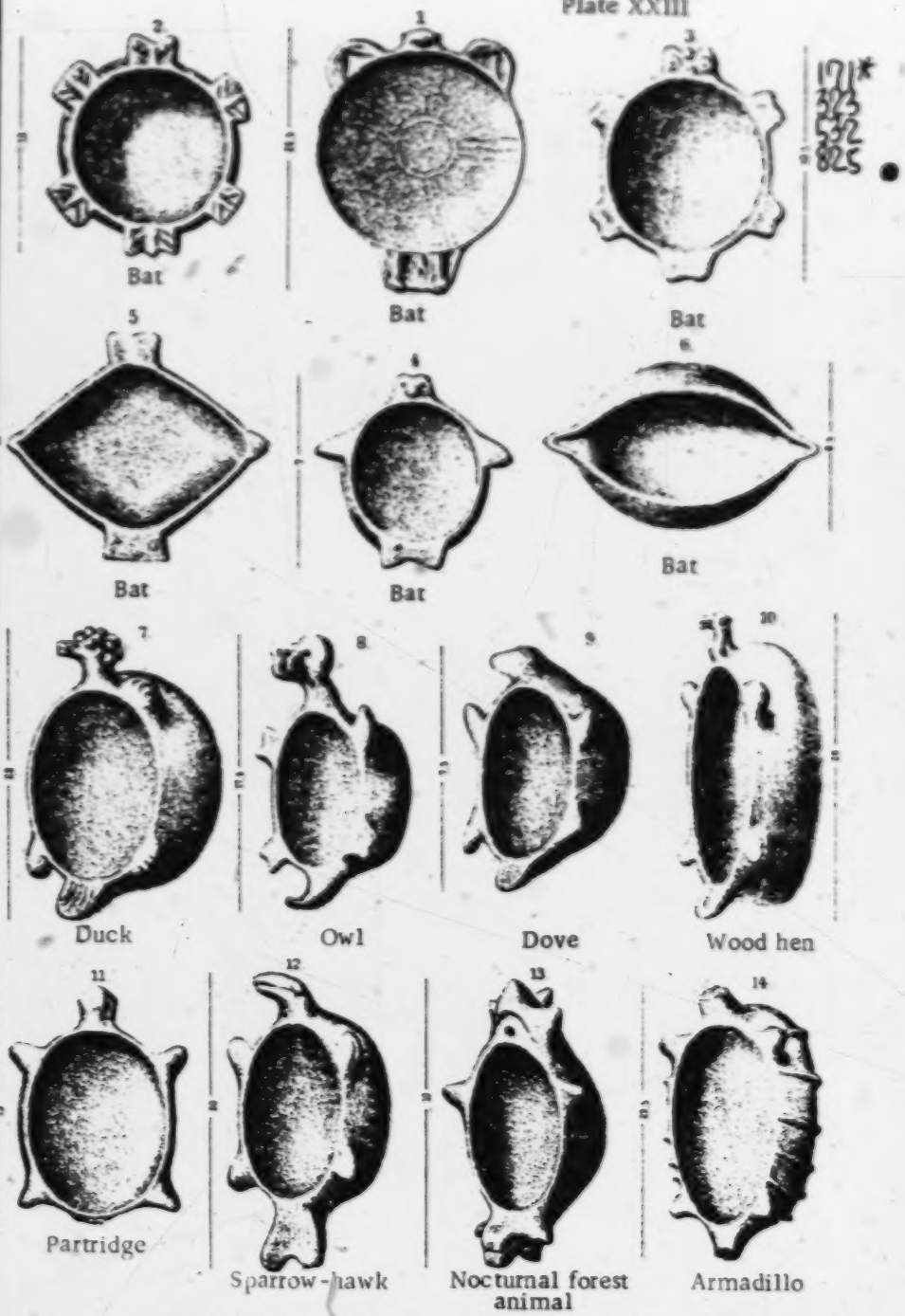
Fig. 75. Wooden fish of the Batovy Bakaïrí. (1/7 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

Fig. 76. Mandioca digger as a back-stick. Bakaïrí. (1/8 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

through the body on the right and left and with its ends coming together again at the bottom represents the legs.

2: Steinen--328 E1 D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7

Plate XXIII

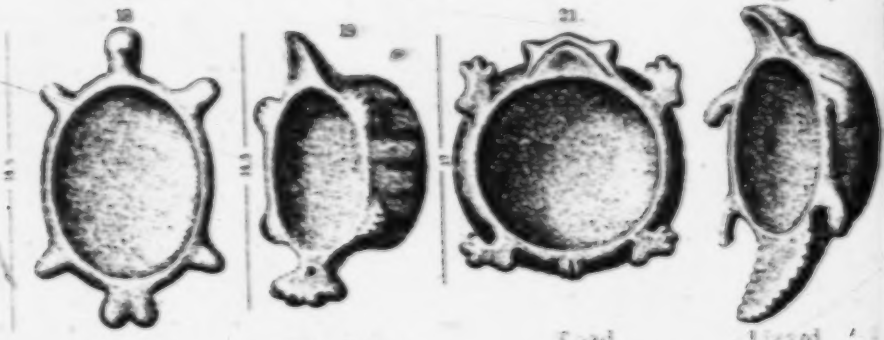


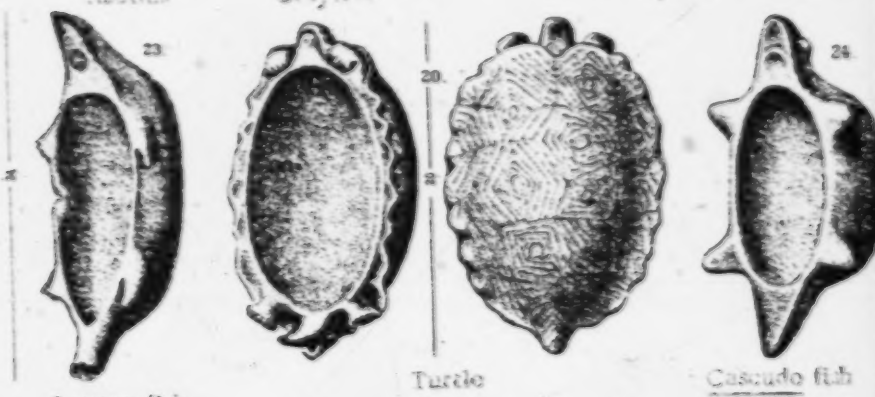
Pots from the Kulisehu. Measurements in centimeters.

Steinen--329 D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7

*1971
323
532
825

Plate XXIV





Pots from the Kulisehu. Measurements in centimeters.

/289 cont./

*1911 323 acquaintance we made in the Auetö harbor. No. 27, with the "goblet shape," indented along the edge on the outside, is regarded as a paint pot of the Waurá. Beaker and goblet have not yet penetrated to our Indians; this form, too, has a gourd-bowl motif, which, however, is less to be seen than to be heard. The flat sphere at the bottom is not put on, say, simply for an easier grip, but represents precisely the essential part of the plastic production, a rattle gourd. It harbors on the inside a few small stones or seeds which give off a rather weak rattling sound if one shakes the "goblet."

*1911 323 532 825 While these three pots have a free edge, all the others are characterized by a greater or lesser number of projections. These projections, modeled in many different ways, characterize the animal portrayed. Almost everywhere the roundness of the gourd is retained; indeed, it is obvious that this has given direction to the artistic idea. Just as the ordinary, merely crescent-shaped disks of the beiju turners represent the animal body as soon as a handle carved as head and neck is added, so the rounded bowl becomes the animal body when head and limbs are added with the edge-projections. This, then, is a clear and unequivocal history of development. Once the new artistic element has been achieved, it develops with independent freedom, presses on to a variety of forms, and, in the most popular and oft-repeated forms, rapidly deteriorates to stylization.

The most common, by far the most common form of the pot is the one with the bat motif. Apparently Indian sensibility is not guided by our refined considerations of taste. Our ladies would not be agreeably affected if they were obliged to eat out of bats, toads, and ticks; we men, however, can wash our hands in innocence, for it is the women who had these indelicate notions. To do them justice, I am assuming that /290/ they were influenced in their realism by the color and form of the original animals and were led to choose those whose imitation would turn out most favorably for pots. The bat, besides its roundish body, is exactly the color of the clay, and the toad (No. 21), which is likewise not infrequent, turned out excellently in the

2: Steinen--331 E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7

/290 cont./

circular, bellied pot. Armadillos and turtles are, indeed, nothing but walking pot-shells and were therefore deemed worthy of the imitation of their shells in the curvature of the pots. The lizard swinging from the hammock by its tied tail, presents itself, as a good domestic animal, for friendly consideration. Finally, there were also several types of caymans and cascudo fish, both armored. The other motifs are unique.

We found and added to our collection the following animals in imitations.

Mammals. Two species of bats (1-6), deer, page 333, squirrel, irara marten (Galictis barbara) (15), sloth (16), little anteater or Tamanduá mirim (Myrmecophaga tetradactyla), armadillo, a small tatú /tatou/ (14), as well as tatú canastra, or giant armadillo (Dasypus gigas), and finally, a nocturnal forest animal that was said to be similar to an armadillo (13).

Birds: White sparrow-hawk (Buteo pterocles) (12), coruja owl (8), dove (9), makuko wood hen (Trachypelmus brasiliensis) (10), inyambú partridge (11), duck (7), and an unidentified flying bird.

Creeping and amphibious animals: trakajá river turtle (Emys tracaxa) (20), kágado turtle (Emys depressa), jabutí forest turtle (Testudo tabulata), cayman, lizard (22), sinimbú or chameleon (Anolis), toad (21).*

Fish: cascudo, akará, or armored sheatfish (24), lagoon fish (23), ray.

Insects and lower animals: karapato or tick (Ixodes) (17), crayfish (19), asellus (18).

The most beautiful specimen, the trakajá turtle, No. 20, is really a work of art, not so much because the drawing of the shell is so carefully incised, but because of the extremely felicitous modeling of head, tail, and limbs. The front feet in particular are bent over so pliantly and naturally that one marvels at the talent for form and the gift of observation of the unknown Mehinakú woman. I must say, in her honor, that she copies nature more faithfully than the Berlin sketcher and lithographer did her reproduction.

2: Steinen--332 E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7

/290 cont./

* 1971
323
532
825

In the case of some animals one may speak of a direct copy hollowed out rather than of a pot with anatomical structure. For example, the turtle 20, the toad 21, the bat 1, the lizard 22, on which, in the drawing of my cousin, Figure 87 /see p. 333/, the body painting is still visible. The bat is particularly remarkable because of the outspread wing membrane from which the rear extremities are carefully worked out. In /291/ No. 2 the projections are simply incised, the head with the eyes has a couple of lines for the eyes, the other projections have been given two pairs of strokes for the lines of the wing membranes. These strokes may be left out, and one sees merely a six-projection pot and is surprised to hear it called "bat" regularly and among the most diverse tribes. In Nos. 3 and 4 the facial parts are even more precisely portrayed, in No. 3 the tail is broader than the extremity-projections, in No. 4 the legs and the tail are joined inside the wing membrane, as in /Fig. 87 appears here/ No. 1, and not further indicated. Nos. 5 and 6, too, were bats, but it was said they were a different, smaller species than the round six-projection pots. We are immediately reminded of the bat rhombuses drawn by the Bakairí, Plate 20 /see p. 280/.

In a more careful examination of the pots one will be able to understand, at least to a certain extent, the characteristic feature that differentiates most of them. At least one of the three elements, head, limbs, or tail, is always provided with an identifying "special mark." /Fig. 88 appears here./ In connection with this, the inference per exclusionem is never to be forgotten.

No. 15, the marten-like Galictis, is probably the most difficult to recognize. The snout is more pointed in the original. The sloth, No. 16, is identified by the shape of the head and the position of the four legs at the corners. But it was obviously not easy with the four-footed mammals. For example, the only exception arose among them: a deer (6.5 × 13.5 centimeters in diameter) was set on its legs and the hollow opened in the back. Figure 88 /see p. 333/. The shape of the head, the tail, and the stance permitted even foreign Indians to identify the little pot

2: Steinen--3336 D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7

/291 cont./

171 323 532 825 immediately as a deer. The happy thought, which could lead the portrayal into entirely new directions, was not encountered by us in any other example.

In the case of the birds, wing and leg stumps are not differentiated; the feathers are incised in the tail, cf. 7 and 12, that of the sparrow-hawk is /292/ indented. The head of the drake, 7, and of the owl, 8, are well characterized;

Fig. 87. Lizard pot. (1/3 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

in the case of the dove, 9, there is the same head shape as on the little figures of the neck stones; the sparrow-hawk, 12, has a powerful beak, and a nicely formed little head is set on

Fig. 88. Deer pot. (2/5 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

the makuku, 10. In the case of the indistinct partridge, 11, the tail is broken off.

Fish were extremely rare. No. 23 has a long tail, the end of which was already broken off when we acquired the pot, but on the journey it lost still another piece. The head shapes of 23 and 24 are similar to the lizard, but they have a peculiar mouth.

/292 cont./

The tick, 17, has four knobs on its head, which are probably supposed to represent maxillary feelers and mouth parts. The notched edge is most amusing. It reproduces not at all badly the general impression of the creeping and crawling of the eight crooked legs, which, in the case of animals that have sucked their fill, form a wreath at the top of the sac. I do not know whether the isopod, 18, bears up under zoological scrutiny. It is eyeless, like the Asellus, one of which it is supposed to represent, as far as I understood my informants. In No. 19, the crayfish, we note richly scalloped extremities and a tail fin. For eyes it has a pair of small knobs in which is pierced a fine little hole.

Fig. 89. Suyá toad-pot. (1/3 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

In conclusion I am adding a pot (diameter 10 X 15 centimeters) with a human representation! It is too much to demand, however, that anyone should suspect anything human about it. The woman artist who brought it to us shook with laughter over her creation. She wanted to make a toad-pot and had already copied the tail and leg projections, as well as the head with the bulging eyes of toad form. Then, when she was modeling the wide mouth and it happened to turn out open instead of closed, she noticed the similarity with the much-ridiculed lip disk of the despised Suyá, which stands out in front of the teeth of these Indians like a movable saucer. She laughed about it, set the stiff mouth flap neatly perpendicular to the toad face, and called the pot a "Suyá figure." Thus, for once, an ornament of the men was used as a motif by the women, analogous to the uluri motif, which was so popular among the gentlemen artists.

2: Steinen--335 E, D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7

*17
532
825

IV. Relationship between the Animal Motif and the Technique.

What appears as a joke in the case of the Suyá pot, namely, the influence of the technique on the determination of the motif, makes itself felt on a wider scale as a lawful process. Let us examine once again the list of animals portrayed in pots. It is interesting on account of the animals which are not there. One might say that the same difference is discernible as in the modern motifs of men and women artists on the average, especially in the still lifes: on the one hand, flowers, fruits, butterflies, flies, market fish, and hams; on the other hand, game and herring. For among the animals of the pots, the smaller animals and, with the exception of the ticks, the tamer ones predominate. At any rate, it is noteworthy that, by and large, jaguar, tapir, pig, and the parrots providing the feather ornaments and kept at home are entirely absent. These animals are also missing, however -- again for a special reason to be mentioned later -- in the animal masks of the men's festivals, and it should be further noted that one sees the above-mentioned connection between motif and form of presentation even more clearly from the negative side.

Snakes and monkeys, with their elongated bodies, were entirely unsuitable for the earthenware gourds, whereas the former were excellently adapted to the long bark boards of the frieze or the sword-shaped whizzer stick or the canoe, and the latter to a hut post or a flute. The handle on the half-moon of the beijú turner could easily be transformed into the neck of a bird or the fore part of a snake, but it did not become, for example, a fish, which simply cannot be combined with the half-moon and a one-sided elongation. On the other hand, the whizzer stick with its long, narrow shape became a fish (cf. Chapter XI under III /see p. 381 /), and the cord could be very conveniently wound up on the tail end; the hole for the cord is not therefore, say, in the eyes on the head end. The drawn and incised fish-body becomes a rhombus, the mereschu design dominates the entire art of drawing, and a Waurá woman even scratches it in the gourd-pot, but it does not occur to anyone to depict a

2: Steinen--336 E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7

/293 cont./

K 171
532
825

mereschu as a pot! Why? The mereschu won in the struggle for existence among the incised designs because it was easiest to incise a figure characterized by sharp and readily scratched-out corners; it was easy to make and still retained the likeness. Likewise the uluri. Occasionally, cf. Pot 5 /see p. 328/, a rhombus-shaped pot was produced, but it belongs in the developmental series of bat forms, while for the fish the more natural oval outline can assert itself here, where other animals also have it, cf. 23 and 24 /see p. 329/.

A law is clearly expressed in this. It is not symbolic subtlety that directs the artistic impulse. Neither in small things nor in large. The woman artist neither shies away from making a toad-pot because the toad is an unappetizing animal, /294/ nor does she choose the bat because this creature also occurs in the mythology of the Indians. In view of the role played by the animal in the mental life of the Indian, animal motifs suggest themselves as a matter of course. The choice, however, may be prompted first of all by the nature or activity of the animal: the shell of the turtle corresponds to the pot, the digger wasp decorates the mandioca digging stick; the agutí with its handsome fur, the comb; the picture of the hissing snake, the whizzer stick; that of the whistling monkey, the flute. Then, however, as soon as artistic activity is practiced with sufficient vigor, the form and size and color of the object also have a decisive effect, so that the animal that is most appropriate for them is chosen for reproduction. The artist need not be aware of this at all; it comes by itself if attempts in another direction turn out unsatisfactorily. This phenomenon manifests itself most of all in the reproduction of birds: we saw only a small bird painted on a back-stick, whereas the plastic birds -- carved, molded out of wax, or in the form of maize-straw dolls -- were extremely numerous. It was easier for the Indians to form characteristically the outlines of the head, beak, and tail, as well as the proportions, in plastic form than in drawing.

2: Steinen--337 E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7

/294 cont./

*171 531 532 825 In conclusion I shall list the animal motifs observed by us and shall add in what form they occur. F means plaited work, M maize bird, S carving, T pots, W wax, Z drawing, incising, or painting.

Mammals: Monkey (macaque) Z, S; (howling monkey) W. Bat (several species) Z, T. Jaguar Z, S. Irara marten T. Squirrel T. Agutí S. Capybara (teeth) F. Porcupine Z. Sloth T. Armadillo (giant armadillo, small species) T. Little anteater T. Swamp deer /Odocoileus dichotomus/ W. Roe deer F, T. Peccary W.

Birds: King vulture (red urubu) S. White urubu S. Harpy M. Falcon, sparrow hawk M, S, T. Owl T. Songbirds S. Swallow F, Z. Dove S, T, W. Partridge T. Wood hen T. Massarico S. Giant stork M, S. Tujujú stork M, S. Spoonbill S. Snake bird M.

Creeping animals and amphibians: Turtles (trakayá, jabutí, kágado) T, Z. Cayman Z. Iguana (also loam figure) T. Lizards (several species) T, Z. Snake (several species) S, Z. Toad F, T.

Fish: Armored sheatfish Z. Kuomi Z. Kurimatá Z. Lagoon fish T, Z. Matrincham Z. Mereschu Z. Nuki Z. Pakú Z. Piava D. Pintado sheatfish Z. Ray (two species) Z, S. Unidentified S, Z. Bones F, Z.

Insects and lower animals: Grasshopper Z. Digger wasp S. Tokandira ant Z. Tick T. Crayfish S, T. Asellus T.

All kinds of new motifs are added in the masks.

000 /295/

Chapter XI.

Mask Ornamentation and Dance Ornaments.

Preliminary remarks. I. Masks. Dancing and singing. "Idols"? Feasts and invitations. Participation of the women. Types of mummery. Bakaïrí dances (makanári) and masks. Nahuquá (fish-net dance). Mehinakú (cayman dance). Auetö (koahálu dance, yakuíkatú dance). Kamayurá (hüvát dance). Trumaí. II. Common origin of the masks and the mereschu design. The

/298 cont./

*171 535 562 finally, that there was not the slightest trace of any secrets and mysteries or of any special relationship of the medicine men to the dances which were supposed to be kept secret from the women.

*171 345 562 It is also for protection against feminine curiosity that the entrances of the flute houses on the Kulisehu are made so low that one can enter only in a very stooped position or even must slide in on the knees. I do not know to what extent the prohibition for the women is carried out in practice in everyday life, but we did not obtain permission to measure them in the flute house, and certainly it was said "the women would be killed if they went into the flute house" -- a rather crude variant of "mulier taceat in ecclesia" /the woman is to be silent in church/. [997] That the custom was still taken seriously among the docile Bakaïrí some 30 or 40 years ago is best illustrated by an experience which, according to the story of an old Brazilian, the priests who brought Christianity were obliged to undergo. They found nothing more natural than to assemble the new congregation in the flute house which was so well suited for church purposes because it was uninhabited. /299/ The men came willingly enough, but the women remained outside and were persuaded only with great difficulty to risk physical danger for the sake of the salvation of their souls.

*171 535 Among all the tribes the body is partially or completely covered with aprons or cloaks for the masked dances. Leaf strips of buriti straw or dry grass blades about a meter long were strung on a cord to make a wide apron and were wound around the neck several times so that they hung down from the shoulders, or around the /Fig. 90 appears here/ hips so that they reached to the ankles, or combined in both forms. The chief difference [825] is in the ornament for the head. Common to all is the connection with animals. Here we may distinguish:

1. Imitations of animals are put on. Bakaïrí.

2. Straw caps with long fiber hangings, in part bearing attributes of the animal. Bakaïrí.

3. Fish net in front of the face. Nahuquá.

4. Straw lattice in the fashion of the sieve-filter, in an oval hoop. Without facial parts. Bakaïrí, Nahuquá. Facial parts of wax. Auetö.

/300 cont./

535 539 káuayú, mauákauayú hohohú. aluá...aluhá, aluá miyevené yanávitá hö...ohohohú. ihöhö... hohú, he..hirámiturí hohó, yukévené yohó hohohohú. Now all in circular motion: ohú namiturí ohú namituhurí ohoyócho yóchu hohuhó. ayarívénení kayarílö ohó namiturí ohú namituhurú ohó oyochó yochu. Now out on the plaza: yochó huyócho huyóchó huyóchohú huyócho. makavó makavó yuuávitirá inávitáhané, iná yochohuyócho..... Finally, turning around: aschimámayú ohuhohú ayavarikú hohuhoo, eveschírini mahúraní hoo, aschimámayú ohohu.....

535 533 was impossible for me to obtain a translation or even an explanation of the content. He said that he himself no longer understands the old words. I believe there was some truth in this, and that he was not merely, in his awkwardness, handing me an excuse, because even aluá itself is not a Bakaïrí or Karaiben /Carib/ word at all, but a Nu-Aruak /Arawak/ word. (See also the footnote, page 24.) Perhaps the text is also in part old Aruak -- no longer understood /301/ after it had been sung together at joint festivals and was taken over and mixed with Bakaïrí words.

535 The imeo makanari is common to all Bakaïrí. On the Kulisehu imóto, imódo, is added as a related figure. Imeo is a [825] white animal that lives in the dried-up buriti palm -- as far as I understood, the larva of a palm-boring beetle; imodo, a related creature, reddish with a black head. A strange selection, somewhat reminiscent of the Midsummer Night's Dream. It [824] is explained, however, if one remembers that the material for the dance costumes is furnished primarily by the buriti palm, which that insect inhabits. And this may be a tasty morsel besides. /Fig. 91 appears here./ Other animals also appear in this makanari, especially the bat and the pintado sheatfish, Fig. 91 /see p. 347/. The latter mask is easy to understand. A costume plaited out of coarse, hard grass covers the body, but the wearer can look through the plaiting without difficulty, and a long piece

/302 cont./

535 [831] little piece of an ear of maize together with testicles of plaiting. Inevitably we feel forced to assume that a human individual is being presented to us. This is not necessarily the case, however, for, [825] conversely, it seems self-evident to the Indian that the animal portrayed appears and acts with all human characteristics, and he

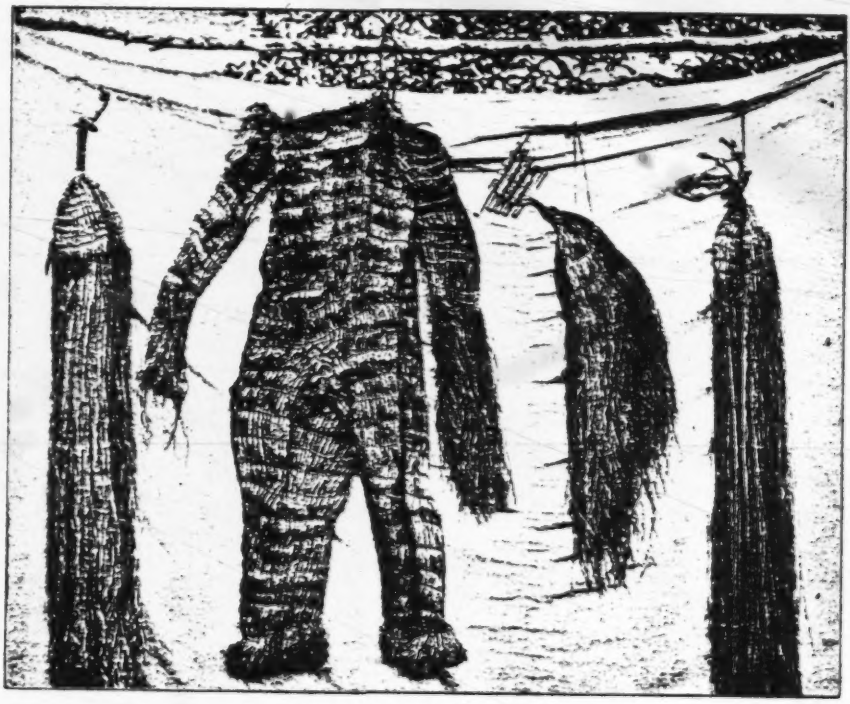


Fig. 92. Makanari of the Bakaïrí.

imiago. Imeo. Enoschiburo. imeo.

also gives the face masks of his animals human features.

The dance on the Batovy, the ornamental attire for which we found in 1884 in the flute house of the second Bakaïrí village, is called imiga. (Cf. Durch Centralbrasilien /Through Central Brazil/, (p. 170 /see 1: Steinen, this file, p. 51/.) There were painted gourds, with feathers pasted on and open at the bottom, with carved birds looking out, the stuffed skin of a campo fox and an otter, a

/303 cont./

532 part projects with considerable curvature. They also have a huge
535 nose of human shape, which, along with the rest, is carved out
[237] of one piece. The mouth consists of a set of piranha teeth pasted on with wax. The eyes are small holes decorated with little pieces of mother-of-pearl, or they appear in two masks as a pair of river mussels pierced in the center. Hoods, from which, as always, long straw hangings flutter down, are plaited on the wooden
[237] plates for putting them on the head. In the places corresponding
[619] to the ears, the Bakaïrí were in the habit of inserting two beautiful yellow japú feathers (Cassicus), which they themselves wear as a sort of tribal mark. These feathers are also to be noted on the costume of the man with the imeo cap (cf. page 344).

532 Six of the masks were identified for us as bird masks. We
535 have, first of all, a mask, Fig. 94 /see p. 351/, which represents
825 a dove, papadüri, secondly a /304/ /Figs. 94-97 appear here/ /305/ gull mask, kakaya, see Fig. 44, page 289, thirdly the mask of a small bird unknown to us, which is said to live along lagoons and is called alapübe, Fig. 95, fourthly the arakuma mask, which represents a cock of the woods and is characterized by a wooden stem representing the head ornament of the animal, Fig. 96, and, finally, two tüwetüwe masks, one with a black indented decoration, the other with a red one, which refer to a songbird with a white head and red shoulder markings, Fig. 97. Of the bird masks described, only the gull mask (cf. the illustration on page 289) has the mereschu decoration, and it may doubtless be assumed that this is supposed to characterize the fish-catching water bird, since the mereschu is not shown in the net but separately.

The two most attractive masks were called yakuá-ikúto, that is, "piranha picture." They bear red cheek markings; on the one specimen we see two red triangles with the tips touching between nose and mouth, and the triangles are so large that each takes up one-fourth of the plate. (Cf. Fig. 12, p. 168.) By means of this painting the larger piranha species of those waters, the papo amarello (yellow throat) of the Brazilians, adorned with a brilliant orange, is reproduced. The eyes are pierced shells. The

[Text Continues on p. 352]

2: Steinen--351 E, D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7

532
535
825

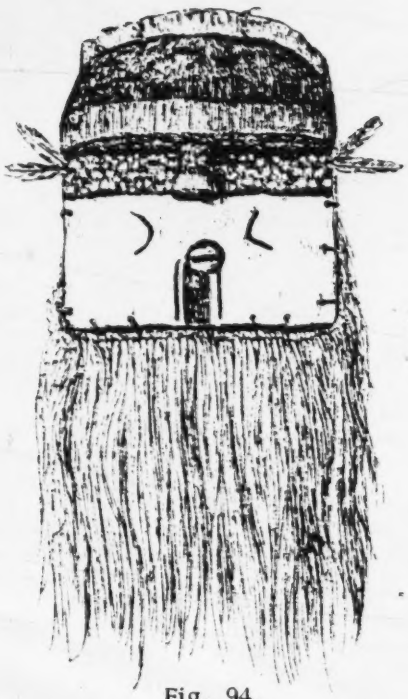


Fig. 94.
Papadüri dove. Bakaïrí. (1/6 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

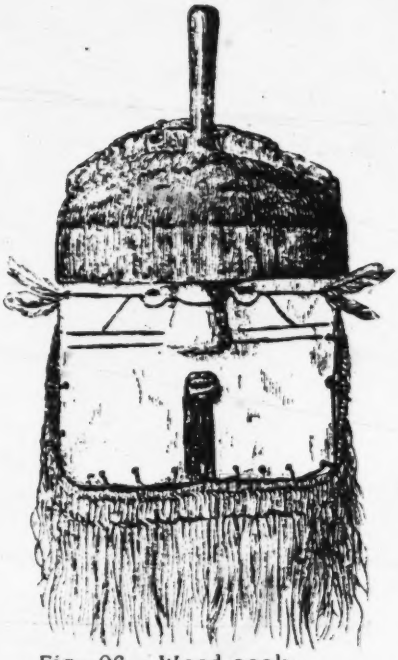


Fig. 96. Wood cock. Bakaïrí. (1/5 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

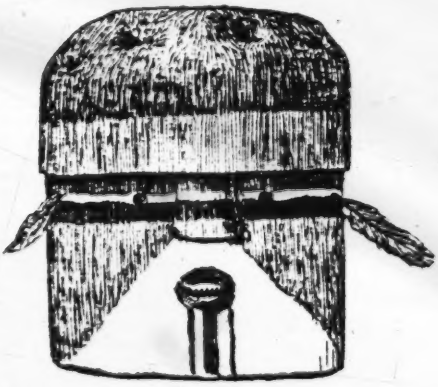


Fig. 95.
Alapübe bird. Bakaïrí. (1/5 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

Fig. 97. Tüwetüwe bird. Bakaïrí. (1/6 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

/305 cont./

532 The handsomest decoration of these two masks, however, are the
535 enormous arara feathers inserted in the elongated nasal septum
825 and projecting far to the right and left. They are inserted into
237 a little bamboo rod decorated with tassels. Thus the Indians are so far from feeling obliged to give the animal represented its zoological physiognomy that they even pierce its nasal septum and adorn it with feathers, in accordance with their own custom.

535 We came across three fantastic dance costumes in the flute house of the third Bakaïrí village. Only one, however, was still in good condition. It was called kualóhe and looked like a small hut. This straw costume was truly a small house, and hence it is probably on account of the straw covering that the Bakaïrí call their dance costumes, including the buriti doublet provided with trouser legs and sleeves, "houses." The straw hoods were also called "head houses." The expression, however, when the word was transferred to our woolen shirts and cloth trousers, became incomprehensible. The monster was much too heavy for us to take along, it was almost ten meters in circumference at the bottom. It was constructed like a huge crinoline with five cross-hoops heavily covered with straw, but was worn on the shoulder with two bast loops attached to the upper ring. One of the Indians obliged us by crawling into it; he put on the tüwetüwe mask and went into twisting and rocking movements. The hollow tree lying in front of the festival hut was beaten as an accompaniment to the kualóhe. "It is not a makanari," the Bakaïrí say. I do not know whether they meant that it was of foreign origin. Also, I am unable to decide whether there is a connection between this dance [136] and the kurimatá fish (Salmo curimata), which in Bakaïrí /306/ is called koálu. At any rate, the tüwetüwe mask, which the native [532] dancing before us put on, does not go with it, but rather a kuábi sieve-mat. A sieve-mat consisting of little reed rods plaited together was provided with feather ornaments and worn in front of the face. This rush mask, or kuabi, however, lay in shreds on the ground.

/320 cont./

*171 532 535 How should we picture to ourselves the developmental history of the masks? Let us take as a starting point the straw hoods of the Bakaïrí and their pintado mask, page 346. This masquerade was already a great advance as compared to their dressing up in an animal skin and hangings of strips of straw. The people plaited animals for themselves, put some on their heads and crawled into others. From the products of the drawing art and from the plaited figures we know how little they need for characterization. They drew a piece of vine through the upper part of the costume; that was the barbels and sufficed for a demonstration of a pintado fish. They do not find it necessary to carry the imitation further; even today they do not need a pintado face-mask. The Indians enhanced the effect of their straw hoods, however, by putting wax eyes, nose, and mouth on them and plaiting in a hoop that outlined the oval of a face. This mask was more decorative than imitative; it developed from the straw lattice to the fiber plaiting that could have loam put on it and be painted; it was provided with the fish design or the markings of an animal, or an animal was painted on.

*171 535 532 ● 825 [527] It is very natural that fish should play the chief role, since they were caught in masses on their expeditions and thus furnished the opportunity for a general festival. The yakuí dance, the dance of the small schakú chickens, may also be associated with more abundant hunting booty. "All the larger species maintain themselves individually, the smaller ones usually gather in large flocks which may grow to a hundred or more individuals." (Brehm's Tierleben /Animal Life/, Vögel /Birds/ II, page 628). Thus we are not surprised that we hear nothing about the jaguar or the tapir or other game mammals that appear in the Tekuna masks: these furnished only occasional booty, whereas it was precisely quantity that offered the occasion for a banquet to be celebrated with many neighbors.

*171 532 535 /321/ If one recalls, however, how the Nahuquá covered the head with a fish net for their eremo dance and demonstrated by their pantomime the herding together of fish by a band of people, one will not reject the thought that the oval woven mask has more

/322 cont./

*171 531 ● 825 Nowadays the design has become purely ornamental. There is no direct, inherent connection between the mandioca digging sticks and the little lagoon fish. But one thing will have to be admitted. The significance of the little fish grew far beyond what it was originally because it recalled happy days of festivity; all industry having to do with drinking, feasting, and adornment seized upon it. Thus, there is good reason why the large gourds and calabashes in which the pogu is served, the beijũ turners with which the hospitable cakes are tirelessly turned on such days, the gourd vessels in which the gorgeous feathers were kept, the rattle-gourds waved for the dance, the spindle whorls with which the thread for the woven masks was spun, why all these and similar things were decorated with the mereschu fish. The origin of ornamentation lies in a motivated feeling, and it is only when its manifestations have become numerous and trivial that no one sees anything but figure and color. The favorite pictures of our people appear after all on colored handkerchiefs. The mereschu design was able to spread from tribe to tribe and became established everywhere just because it grew out of the festival dances in which all the tribes joined.

/323/ Yet it should not be forgotten that the Indian even today remains aware of the concrete original. The Bakaĩrí does not put a mereschu fish on his masks, with the exception of the gull mask, Figure 44, and the fish makanari, Figure 93, and among other tribes too -- see the wax masks of the Auetö and the black, white, and red masks of the Trumaí -- there are distinct differences which I am unable to define more specifically. In the beginning, the fish was not appropriate in all the cases where today the rhombus has already crept in or will creep in soon.

[532] [535]

*171 53 One must now ask the question: if the woven masks and the mereschu design go back to the fish net, are there any facts for determining which tribe was the inventor? The mereschu fish was designated to me as a "lagoon fish" (we ate it among the Yaulapiti), but it occurs everywhere in our area, even in the Paranatinga. Fishing with nets is also practiced by all tribes.

[226]

/343/

171 754 756 The medicine men are differentiated as good and bad. According to Antonio, there are "few among the Bakaïrí and Auetö, more among the Nahuquá, many among the Mehinakú, and too many among the Kamayurá." There were none living on the Paranatinga at the time. Anyone can become one, but it is very [262] [785] difficult. "One must learn a great deal." One is supposed to drink only starchy broth for four months, enjoy no salt and eat no

[261] [226]

* This fasting is also very good if one wants to excel in the art of shooting fish, and in this case it is sufficient if one does not eat anything but starch-paste for a month. Antonio did this and was very satisfied with the result.

meat, fish, or fruits; one is not supposed to sleep but to drum ceaselessly on the skull with the fists so that the swollen eyes are very painful in the morning, bathe a great deal, scratch arm and chest bloody, etc. Antonio wanted to study medicine, but was afraid of this difficult internship; Felipe made a good start in the same endeavor, but did not succeed, because he had no teacher.

*171 754 The chief art of the accomplished master of sorcery is exhibited in the use of poisons. With these he kills others and he even kills himself in order to be able to change himself into another shape. We are to become acquainted here with a conception of death which takes some getting used to, but which is in direct agreement with the life of the shadow during sleep.

[628] Let us hear first how sickness and death come into the world, in spite of the good medicine-man of one's own village, who with all his might combats the evil one from the foreign village.

● [825] [824] The evil one is a bad person whom no one likes because he kills instead of healing, he mixes the poison from wasps, from the tocandyra ant, and from other such animals with oil and resin from the alsmesca and pindahyba in a calabash. From the man whom he wishes to harm he obtains either hair, by stepping on it when it is being cut or even cutting it himself when the man is asleep, or a bit of blood by tossing a finely pointed twig of jatobá, pindahyba, or pau de olho in his direction and then picking

/351 cont./

772 ways of life, to which the Indian is limited, can at best merely indicate to man the position of primus inter pares. To be sure, the animal does not have bow and arrow and maize pestle, but that is the chief difference in the eyes of the Indian, and that is why the men arose from arrows, the women from maize pestles, but it does have, like man, important tools, for example, such as teeth and claws, which, indeed, he takes away from it.

825 Moreover, the Indian lacks our division into species, insofar as the one does not interbreed with another. This distinction, which /352/ experience certainly makes easily recognizable, is again completely obliterated because the barrier based on our anatomical knowledge falls away. Let us consider for a moment what our popular belief is capable of concerning this error; here one is confronted with a genuine mouse-skin, a genuine dog-foot, etc. If the Indian can explain something by the crossing of different species of animals or by that of animal and man, nothing prevents him from asserting it; on the contrary, he will see proof of it and merely conclude that such things no longer happen now because they are no longer necessary. Today, our learned men say, there is no longer generatio aequivoca, but at one time it surely occurred. The difference is all the more obliterated since the native is obliged to use the convenient explanatory principle of transformation in the widest latitude. Finally, he does not concern himself further about reproduction within the species, since the child is nothing but the father; the species or the tribe is like a single individual, which always appears under the same name; various subspecies, for example, the jaguar cats, large and small and differing in color, are brothers. Each of these "jaguars," however, appear by name, "campo fox," "deer," "ant bear" -- in all kinds of stories and no one asks whether it is, say, campo fox "V" or campo fox "XXIII." It is also precisely the same for the human forefathers in the ancestor legends; the women are usually taken as given, and the fellow tribesmen who accompany them always are.

778 811 I repeat, we are justified in using the expression "anthropomorphize" only as a schema, and it becomes false if one tries to

/353 cont./
first as the main point. Or would we who lack it and who may also experience confusion ever believe our geographers and historians if they said that the Finns were a nation of tapeworms?

But if the essential distinction is absent, then the matter is entirely different. Then there is nothing to prevent the campo fox, the nocturnal predator who has fire in his eyes glowing in the dark, from giving this fire to human beings by striking it out of his eyes. Or, to take a common variant of the ancestor legend, there is nothing to prevent the jaguar from being the ancestor of a cannibalistic tribe; for it is always emphatically reported that this tribal ancestor "jaguar" killed and devoured the ancestors of the local tribe, Bakaïrí or Paressí. I can state most emphatically that my informant was firmly convinced that the evil ancestor in question in the legend was a jaguar and was not merely called that, although he shot with arrows. To say that the earlier time in which the legend originated only symbolized and the descendants confused names and things is a convenient supposition, but an unreliable one, for in that case the entire tradition would consist of nothing but confusions. The earlier generation had the same basic view as the present one. It explained the cannibalistic custom of the neighboring tribe by descent from the jaguar for whom it is characteristic to devour human beings. They did not know the tribal ancestor, because he cannot be known by any tribe, although he always must have been present. Since the essential distinction between man and animal is lacking, they had no difficulty in concluding that, because these people always devoured human beings, our own forefathers, the tribal ancestor was therefore a jaguar, and their causal requirement was satisfied -- which was much more essential than the possible objection that today the son of a jaguar is always a jaguar and that today, after all, no jaguar shoots with bow and arrow as, of course, the ancestors of the hostile tribe did.

/354/ We understand that the Indian presents animals as though they were persons when he reports their conversations, for one knows that animals call to each other and communicate in loving or threatening tones, but to furnish animals with cultural products and implements seems to us to exceed the limit of what is permissible. In fact, according to the Indian ancestral legends, man

/354 cont./

773 811 825 is supposed to have acquired from the animals all kinds of goods that he possesses. The most diverse animals were "masters" or "owners" of them and the culture hero took them from them. The master of medicinal tobacco and of cotton was the kinkajou, Cercoleptes caudivolvulus; the master of ordinary smoking tobacco, the electric eel; the master of the mandioca, the bagadú fish Phractocephalus; the master of sleep and the buriti hammock, the lizard; the master of the pots filled with water, from which, after they were broken, flowed the Ronuro and the Paranatinga, the ochobi river-snake; master of the sun, the king vulture, Sarcoramphus papa, and so on. How is such nonsense possible? All this, of course, is meant symbolically, says the wearer of the spectacles of civilization, and thus regards the question as answered. I can only laugh heartily when I think of the Indian hunters or fishermen, adhering to their view, as dealing with symbolic animals like the poets, painters, and, not to forget the lower spirits, the patentees of our civilized world inventing their trade-mark -- none of whom maintain close personal acquaintance with the originals of their symbolic animals.

773 811 No, Antonio and his fellow tribesmen would not have understood our type of symbols, let alone discovered some themselves. I do not deny that I was sometimes dumbfounded during our conversation when I was confronted with the simple-hearted belief in the reality of the "fairy-tale" animals and their culture in all its originality, but I was also so thoroughly convinced of its genuineness that I feel duty-bound to reject any explanation that does not fully acknowledge it. I also think the matter is simple enough to understand. The Indian has, in truth, obtained the most important parts of his culture from the persons whom we call animals, and even today he must take them away from them. Teeth, [237] bones, claws, shells are his tools, without which he would be unable to make weapon or house or implement. He owes whatever [825] he can accomplish to the piranha, the dogfish, the monkey, the capybara, the agutí, the giant armadillo, the mollusks, and the legend reports nothing about any of them because every child knows that these animals, the hunting of which is the most important prerequisite for those accomplishments, furnish the most

/373 cont./

539

Nimagakaniro and Ichoge. Ichoge contains ipó, pikí (= iχó-ge, with pikí). Tawagüri, too, is the name of a tree, from which the two lazy women were made, the Portuguese olho de boi, oxeye. Koyaka (= koyá-ke, with koyá?) came from a tree with rough bark and yellow fruit. Antonio did not know anything more specific about Atanumagale's tree-origin. She and Koyaka likewise became the wives and mothers of jaguars, although this (K. 36) is put down as uncertain. Atanumagale was later designated as the wife of Kuára, the son of Mero.

was not yet any mandioca at that time" -- and were making beijús and drinks. Kamuschini gave the two oldest ones, Nimagakaniro and Ichoge, to the jaguar Oka, and he led them home. On the way, however, Ichoge came to grief; she climbed up a buriti palm to fetch herself some nuts and fell down.

Nimagakaniro swallowed two Bakaïrí finger-bones, of which there were many in the house because Oka needed them for his arrow points and killed many Bakaïrí, whose flesh he ate. The woman became pregnant from the finger bones, and from these only, not from Oka. Now, however, her fate was approaching in the shape of her mother-in-law, Mero, whose husband is unknown and who, besides Oka (the large onça pintada, the spotted jaguar), had two more jaguar sons, Kuára (the "cangucú" variety of the Brazilian) and Zaupányua (a "red-colored" species). Mero came for a visit while Oka was hunting; "she did not want him to have sons by a Bakaïrí," for she hated and devoured the Bakaïrí. She tore Nimagakaniro's eyes out with her claws and departed. Nimagakaniro died, but the uncle, Kuára -- a jaguar who in heaven performs a Caesarean section on a dead woman! -- cut open her belly, took out the twins Keri and Kame, and put them in a calabash like young parrots. Then he and his people cut Nimagakaniro into bits, roasted and ate her, and served

[825]

/373 cont./

539 the rest to the /374/ returning Oka, who unwittingly ate it. Furiously angry when he learned what had happened, he ran to kill Mero, but desisted because she said: "I am your mother." The jaguar foster-father reared Keri and Kame; he let them ride on his back and taught them to shoot with arrows. Now, however, they asked him about their mother; he had been silent about her death because he was ashamed of having eaten her flesh and now, too, gave no information. The grandmother, however, or Aunt Ewaki, who belonged to the family of the Bakaïrí and is named here for the first time, reported Mero's crime. Keri and Kame went out and killed Mero, although she received them with the friendly greeting, "oh my grandsons."

"Mero safada, the cursed Mero" (Antonio hated her from the bottom of his heart) "was not buried, oh no, she was burned." Keri and Kame gathered faggots and lighted a fire; then they dug a hole in order to watch. Mero burned bopopopo....One can see the fire to this day in the large Magellanic Cloud. At that time Keri and Kame did not yet have human form. Kame inquisitively crawled out of his hole and caught fire. He burned up, died. Keri blew upon him and made him nose and hands and feet, such as human beings have. But Keri, too, caught fire (the small Magellanic Cloud is the fire of Keri and Kame), burned up, died, was blown to life by Kame and given human shape. Then came three kinds of animals, which can also be seen in the sky, the small fish otter who took her tail from Keri and Kame, the large one (ariranha) who took hands and feet from them, and the toucan who took his beak from them. Keri had had a larger beak than Kame.

Only now do the two have a human appearance, and they soon start their activity for the benefit of those living today. How did Kamuschini, Mero, and Oka look? "Oka is the spotted jaguar, isn't he?" "Yes." "And he shot with arrows?" "Yes, at that time the jaguar shot with arrows." "He shot the Bakaïrí and de-
•[825] voured them." Mero had "something of the joho" (Crypturus noctivagus) "and makuku" (Tinamus brasiliensis), two wood hens.

/376 cont./

539 house of the lizard, seized her, and pulled out her eyelid. They took a large piece for themselves, and the lizard was very angry. Now they had eyelids and could sleep.

Heaven and earth interchanged. At that time it also came to pass that Keri left heaven. "At first the earth was heaven; no Bakaïrí were born here where we are now. Heaven had a ground on which everything looked the same as here on earth. Heaven and earth were very close to each other; one could go over to the earth." Keri said to heaven: "You shall not stay here. My people die here. And you want to stay here? You are good! But I don't want my people to die." Heaven replied: "I want to stay here." Whereupon Keri said: "Then I'll change." He with all his people went to the earth and heaven rose up high where it now is, and where to this day one can see that everything happened as the Bakaïrí tell it.

/377/ Fire. Keri and Kame went to Ewaki and she ordered them to fetch fire. The campo fox was the lord of fire. He had it in his eyes and struck it out when he wanted to kindle wood.
• [825] The campo fox (Canis vetulus "catches crayfish and crabs," Brehm, Säugetiere /Mammals/ II, page 57) had set up a weir basket in order to catch fish. Keri and Kame went to the weir basket; in it they found a jejum fish and a caramujo snail. Keri went into the jejum (a smooth, span-long lagoon fish) and Kame went into the shell. "Both were well hidden in them." The campo fox came along singing and made a fire. Then he looked to see what was in the weir basket, fetched the fish and the snail, and laid them in the fire in order to roast them. But the two poured water in the fire. Angrily the campo fox seized the snail, but it jumped into the river and fetched more water and poured it into the fire until the latter was almost completely extinguished. The campo fox seized it again and wanted to beat it to pieces on a piece of wood, but the snail slipped away from him and fell on the other side. That was too much for the campo fox; he angrily ran away. Keri and Kame, however, blew up the fire and took it to Ewaki.

/380 cont./

539 This brings us to the end of the activities of Keri and Kame insofar as the principal legend reports it. They left the Bakaïrí an abundance of matrinchams, climbed a hill, from which they called down once more to the Bakaïrí, who answered them animatedly, and "went forth on their way. No one knows where they went. The ancestors did not know where they went. Today one knows less than ever where they are."

Even though the legend ends in such a melancholy way, however, the people had their own ideas. Tumehi -- not to forget this old bat -- went away with Keri. What happened to Kame? "He was always together with Keri. Perhaps he is dead now." And Keri? Caetano, the grand old man, who knew how to adjust to the new conditions extremely well, said that Keri was the Imperador /emperor/ in Rio de Janeiro, Emperor Pedro Segundo. The good [124] Bakaïrí patiently answered all my innumerable questions because I had told them I needed to know everything in order to report it to the Imperador. That meant a great deal to them. I made the objection, "what if the Imperador in Rio de Janeiro dies?" "If the Imperador dies," ran the answer, the correctness of which, however, must unfortunately be refuted, "then all the Bakaïrí will die also."

Chief Felipe told me something else. "Keri went to the Ronuro and Kulisehu with a hundred men. He traveled downstream to the sea. That is what the people on the Batovy say too!"

Antonio adhered to the text of the legend as he had learned it from his mother. But in another connection he said that Keri lives in heaven, his house is there where the sun rises. "Then is Keri 'God' (Deus), about whom the Portuguese have told you?" "No, that is another, about whom we know nothing. Keri is the grandfather of the Bakaïrí."

539 Tobacco and cotton. Besides the coherent legends, the con-
● 825 tents of which I have told thus far, other achievements of Keri were occasionally mentioned. For example, he took from the sawari the tobacco with which people are cured. Sawari did not want to give it up; he said it was very good tobacco. Keri, however, took the seed away and gave it to the Bakaïrí. If one makes

Z: Steinen--457 E,D-S (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SPT Bacairi 887

/380 cont./

539 a cigar out of this tobacco and blows on people, they die; /381/
825 but if other people then come and blow on the dead one, he will come to life again and go his way. Cotton, too, and the hammock woven from it come from the sawari. Where the sawari obtained the tobacco and the cotton hammock is not known. It is very rare and lives gregariously downstream on the Paranatinga. It is an animal of the campo cerrado, is somewhat smaller and has a slightly more pointed snout than the irara (Galictis, marten-like, cf. Brehm, Säugetiere /Mammals/ I, page 614) related to it; it climbs and sleeps during the day in tree holes; there are some that are more black, and some that are more white. The description exactly fits the kinkajou, Cercoleptes caudivolvulus, which in its entire build is extraordinarily like the irara, although it is not related to it (cf. the illustration in Brehm, Säugetiere II, page 287, with that of the irara at the place cited). Among the Makuschí /Macusi/, who are closely related to the Bakaïrí linguistically, the kinkajou is called yawari.* According to

[113]

* Schomburgk, Rich. Versuch einer Fauna und Flora von Britisch-Güiana /Attempt at a Flora and Fauna of British Guiana/, Leipzig, 1848, Vol. II, p. 435: "Von Tschudi gives it geographical distribution up to 10° south latitude. The colonists call it yamanack, the Arawaaks wawula, the Macusis yawali, the Warraus uvari."

Brehm, "we know that the kinkajou is widely distributed. It occurs throughout northern Brazil, in Peru, and northward as far as Mexico, in fact, even in southern Louisiana and Florida."

Sawari also had the tobacco that one smokes. The Bakaïrí, however, had obtained this from the karaaδto = "master of the fish," a large fish found in the Kulisehu, but not in the Paranatinga. Antonio had also seen it in the Kulisehu, "but not very well."

[262] I myself ate it in Maigéri, where Tumayaua gave me a piece of karaaδto; it was very oily. According to the description, it is an electric eel, but I cannot give the meaning as wholly certain.

/381 cont./

539
125

The karasoto from whom the Bakaïrí obtained smoking tobacco lived in the "tobacco river." "He had received the tobacco, no one knows where, but he gave some to the Bakaïrí when they visited him in his house." It is probably obvious that the animals were used as geographical indications. Tribal names were "sound and smoke," the animals always remained comprehensible.

Mandioca; deer antlers. Keri obtained mandioca from the campo deer or Portuguese veado (Cervus simplicicornis). Before that, however, we must find out how the deer itself came to possess mandioca. It belonged to the bagadú fish (Phractocephalus, cf. the illustration in Durch Centralbrasilien /Through Central Brazil/, p. 221 /see 1: Steinen, this file, p. 110/), also called pirarara, an oily fish which we often caught but did not relish particularly. The bagadú (kλáto) lived in the "beijú river." "Perhaps," Antonio added of his own accord and thus for the first time put me on the track of the "geographical" animals, "it was a branch of the Ronuro, for there are bagadú there, there are none in the Paranatinga." "The beijú river was in the east." How the deer obtained mandioca from the bagadú is told as follows.

/382/ The deer was thirsty and looked for water. Then it found the bagadú (in a side branch of the river where it had gone at high water and now, with low water, could no longer get out). The bagadú lay high and dry and gasped for air. Then it said to the deer: "Carry me! Plait a bast loop in order to carry me." After the deer had plaited one out of embira, it stowed the bagadú on its back and brought it to the slope of the beijú river. "Here I should like to rest," it said. (The deer was afraid to go down to the bottom of the river.) But the bagadú did not feel like it. Thus they talked and walked down the slope. At the bottom they leaped into the water. The deer enjoyed itself in the waves. So the bagadú took the deer along to its dwelling. When they arrived the deer drank pogu. It also ate beijú. (Both were refreshments as yet unknown to it.) The bagadú took the deer along to the mandioca planting. It ran along behind. When they saw the mandioca, they broke off branches and tied three together. Then

/382 cont./

539 •825 they went home. "Tomorrow I shall go," said the deer and slept that night in the house of the bagadú. The next morning the bagadú said: "Take the mandioca branches along. Fell trees and then plant them." "If they are well planted, you will soon have mandioca," it declared. "Farewell!" said the bagadú to the deer. It climbed out of the water. "Now then, go!" "I am going back home," it said. But it put down the branches together in a heap on the bank; it could not manage alone and did not reach its dwelling until late in the evening. Soon it returned to the place with its son and the two carried the branches home. They rested for a while, then they cut wood in the campo. (A great folly in the eyes of the Bakaïrí, over which they laughed heartily.) But the mandioca does not flourish in the campo. They therefore then felled trees in the forest. They built a fire, burned the wood off, and planted.

Now the deer was master of the mandioca. Keri met it and wanted to have some. Up to that time Keri's beijú had consisted of the red earth found at the salto of the Paranatinga. But while the two were talking about it, they began to quarrel. The deer did not want to give up the mandioca. Then Keri grew angry, seized the deer by its neck, and blew; suddenly it had its antlers. But Keri laughed and called out, "That is how the master of the mandioca looks," took the mandioca along, and presented it to the women of the Bakaïrí and showed them, as he had learned from the deer, what they had to do so that they would not die of the poison. "But now the deer has its antlers, eats leaves, and gnaws the bark off the twigs."

The deer was thus the first, because it eats leaves and bark, to be credited with the ability to remove the poison from the mandioca. Antonio was firmly convinced that the deer was perfectly familiar with the treatment of mandioca and showed it to Keri. It was from Keri that the Bakaïrí women learned it.

/383/ The ugly ostrich. The South American ostrich or nandu (Rhea) of the zoologists is called ema in Brazil, and another bird, the seriema, sariema of the Brazilians, is regarded as its relative because it, too, hurries across the campo at a fast run, though the zoologists classify it as Dicholophus cristatus

/383 cont./

539 in order of the cranes, under the family name of snake-storks.
825 Cf. the illustration in Brehm, Vögel /Birds/ II, page 686. Here there is also a quotation from Burmeister to the effect that the seriema "runs along faster than a horse can trot, and can be overtaken only at a gallop."

Keri ran a race with the seriema. The seriema stopped for a brief moment. Keri passed her and the seriema fell back. Then he challenged the ostrich. They ran and Keri fell back; the ostrich hurried on. Keri was very angry at the ostrich. He fetched himself leaves of the uakumá palm; he seized the ostrich and punished it. Then the ostrich lost its beautiful feathers; today it has nothing but small, ugly feathers.

Keri and the campo fox out hunting. Keri met the "grandpapa" campo fox and agreed to hunt with him, during which the campo fox, as master of fire, would light the massega grass in a circle. Whatever animals were surrounded were to be burned. Now stupid Kame had just entered a mouse. "Keri did not know anything about it; he thought Kame was outside." The fire stopped, and the two roamed about to see whether they could find booty. Keri did not find a roast. The fox found a charred mouse and ate it up. Then the two met again. "Grandpapa, what kind of roast did you eat?" "I only ate a mouse." Then Keri realizes that the campo fox has swallowed his brother, and he thinks up a strange method of getting him back without having to kill and cut open the campo fox. "Let us race, Grandpapa," said Keri. "All right, my grandson." They raced a long distance. They stood still. When the fox stood still, he vomited. After he had vomited, he quickly ran away. Keri went to the spot where the fox had vomited. He saw the mouse bones and gathered them up. After he had gathered them up, he blew. After he had blown, Kame rose up. "I slept well," he said. "You didn't sleep at all! The campo fox ate you."

The jaguar and the ant bear. This strange story no longer has anything to do with Keri and Kame. Nevertheless it deals with the same contrast of the clever one and the stupid one. The stupid one is the strong jaguar, the clever one the large ant-bear,

2: Steinen--461E, D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7

/383 cont./

539 tamanduá bandeira (striped) of the Brazilians and Myrmecophaga
825 jubata of the zoologists, which is no match for the other in bodily strength and agility. The relationship of the two animals interests the Brazilian hunters very much; they maintain that the ant bear can cope very well with the jaguar, not out on the campo, to be sure, but in the forest, by standing upright like our bears and embracing the jaguar. At times this struggle is said to cost both of them their lives.

/384/ Our tale is also concerned, however, with the particular circumstance that the jaguar eats only wild game and the ant bear only ants, and it asserts it in a rather drastic manner, applying the schema of the wager to a very unusual case. Aside from this point, the animals act entirely like human beings; they light fire, roast meat, wander about with the back-basket, dance, the ant bear cuts its tonsure (the hair of its head is very short and bristly), in fact, the little ant-bear, Myrmecophaga tetradactyla, which appears at the end, poisons the jaguar with the magic poison of the medicine men that is contained in a calabash. The moral of this tale, which delightfully reflects the humor of the Indian, is that artifice and cunning triumph over physical strength, this most important experience of the hunting life. The jaguar is sometimes called by the general name of the species, utóto, sometimes by the name of the onça pintada, óka, under which we became acquainted with him as Keri's and Kame's foster-father.

The ant bear met the jaguar. Then the ant bear said: "Let us cack, my friend, with eyes closed." They closed their eyes and cacked. While the jaguar had his eyes closed, the ant bear laid Oka's heap under himself. The ant bear laid his own heap under the jaguar. When he had arranged them nicely, the ant bear said: "Let's open our eyes." "Let's look at our heaps," said the ant bear to the jaguar. The ant bear cried out: "I ate meat!" The ant bear said to the jaguar: "You ate termites!" "I don't eat termites!" the jaguar said to the ant bear.

/384 cont./

539
825 The tapir came to where they had cacked. When the jaguar saw the tapir, he demanded that the ant bear go and kill the tapir. (Now the ant bear had an opportunity to prove his boast that he eats meat.) As ordered, the ant bear followed the trail of the tapir. The ant bear killed -- a tree! Then the jaguar set out to kill the tapir. The jaguar actually killed the tapir. Meanwhile the ant bear, eating termites, had gone on and did not return until the tapir was dead. "Where did the tapir go, my friend?" the jaguar asked the ant bear. "I did not see him," said the ant bear to the jaguar. "Didn't you see him?" said the ant bear to the jaguar and went on: "I do not eat meat, I always eat termites; meat I do not eat." "I killed him," said the jaguar. The jaguar disembowled the tapir and gave the excrement of the tapir to the ant bear (crude revenge, as though to say: "There you also have a meat-eater"). "Light a fire, my friend," said the jaguar. The ant bear lighted a fire. The jaguar set up the roasting rack and roasted the meat.

"I'm thirsty," said the ant bear. "There's no water here!" said the jaguar. "Yes there is," said the ant bear, "there are wild buriti palms over there." The ant bear left; he went far, but he did not find water. /385/ Then he pissed, drank his urine, and washed himself with it too. In his urine he found a little lambaré fish. (The storyteller makes things a bit easier for himself by providing the ant bear with evidence for his assertion.) He went back to the camping place, and when he arrived the jaguar asked: "Did you drink water, my friend?" "I drank," said the ant bear. "Look at the lambaré that I caught!" "I shall go to drink too. Is it far?" "It's a bit far," said the ant bear. The jaguar went to drink water. When the jaguar had already gone far, he called: "Where is the water, where?" "Farther! Farther!"

When the ant bear no longer heard the distant jaguar, he laid the tapir roast in a back-basket and climbed up a jatobá tree. The jaguar came back to the roasting rack; there was no longer any tapir roast. The jaguar followed the scent and saw the ant bear up in the jatobá. "Come, let's eat!" said the jaguar

/385 cont./

539 to the ant bear. The ant bear ate the tapir and -- it was his turn
825 to ridicule the other -- he tossed the tapir bones to the jaguar. The jaguar (who could not climb up the tall, slender trunk of the jatobá and was trying to think how he could get the ant bear down) called the biting ants. The biting ants climbed up the jatobá. But the ant bear blew. Then the biting ants went away again. Now the jaguar called the wind. The wind came to break the tree. He came to the ant bear and uprooted the jatobá. The jatobá crashed. The ant bear fled. To be sure, the jaguar pounced, but he caught only a termite nest sitting on the jatobá.

The jaguar set out and searched. At last he met the ant bear as it was eating termites. The ant bear had shaved himself a tonsure. "You there, my friend, you ate my roast." "Your roast?" said the ant bear, "I didn't eat your roast." "You are the very one who has just eaten up my roast," said the jaguar to the ant bear. "Someone that looks like me ate it. Matawiwe (a small member of the species) is the one who ate your roast," said the ant bear. "Did I look as though I'd eaten it?" asked the ant bear. "You want to deceive me. You shaved yourself a tonsure," said the jaguar.

(It is impossible to decide the case, so the ant bear proposes a competition; the one who wins is right. He felt very secure in this type of "dancing" and at first the jaguar did not feel like going into it.) Then the ant bear said: "Let's dance properly, my friend." "Let us leave dancing alone," said the jaguar. "But all right, let's just dance," said the jaguar. First the jaguar carried the ant bear. Then the ant bear carried the jaguar. Again the jaguar carried the ant bear. (He was able to carry the ant bear oftener than the latter would have given him credit for, and he was on the point of winning.) Then the ant bear tore out the jaguar's eyes and fled. The little pindoreiro bird saw the ant bear run away.

/386/ The agutí (Dasyprocta aguti, a pretty little rodent, "golden hare," very clever at tracing a scent) found the eyes and put them back in the jaguar. When his eyes had been set in,

/386 cont./

539 the jaguar stood up and went in the direction the ant bear had
825 gone. The ant bear was inside the mountain and was singing. The jaguar went into the house. Singing, the ant bear came along with his back to the door. As he was coming, the jaguar seized him. He ate some of his leg. When he had eaten, he let go and went home. The termites made the ant bear well again. When he had recovered, the ant bear got up.

The little ant-bear (Myrmecophaga tetradactyla) said he would kill the jaguar. "Oh pshaw, you're no giant," the people said to him. "Then take magic poison along," the people told him. The little ant bear did as they said; he took magic poison in a gourd to Oka's house and placed the gourd in front of the door. Oka went out. When he caught sight of the gourd, he said, "That is something nice for me," and opened it. Then Oka became ill. The jaguar died.

/387/

Chapter XIV.

ooo

On the Question of the Original Home of the Karaiben.

I. Historical Data on the Bakaïrí.

101 In contrast to the East Bakaïrí /Bacairi/ of the Schingú, found first by our expedition of 1884 and 1887, I call the Bakaïrí west of the Paranatinga, long known to the Brazilians, the West
131 Bakaïrí. Today there is one village of them, to which our
[361] Antonio belongs, on the left bank of the Paranatinga, and a second one on the small tributary stream of the Arinos, the Rio Novo, where Reginaldo ruled as chief and where in 1884 we made
[464] our first acquaintance with the tribe. A few individuals, whom one can count on one's fingers, however, are to be found as workers on one fazenda or another in the western source-region of the Paranatinga; there are also supposed to be a few on the Rio Preto in the vicinity of Diamantino, who represent the
131 remains of a former settlement. At any rate, since the Arinos
133 and Paranatinga flow into the Tapajoz /Tapajós/, the West

/421 cont./

171 192 196 [193] in the color word for red, nor the word for the white clay in the color word for white. I believe that the dyestuffs are far older than the need for distinguishing them according to their colors. This is probable for the Bakaïrí because of two points: first, the color adjectives, with the single exception of "red, orange," do not belong to the inventory of the Karaiben base-language; secondly, their construction according to the schema t-stem-éng bears the stamp of a more recent formation.

000 I may doubtless also be permitted to use such a situation to support the earlier argument about the origin of personal color ornamentation (see pp. 172 ff.). No matter how ancient and innate the joy of color may assuredly be, nevertheless the circumstance that a need to distinguish the colors of the dyestuffs with words did not manifest itself until late speaks in favor of the view /422/ that colored ornamentation was not first used on the body for the sake of the colors. Since whatever was worn on the body as trophies or for practical purposes was actually distinguished by varying colors, which must have given pleasure, people quite naturally came to want to use them also for enjoyment, and from this time on the earliest distinctions by means of names for colors began, within these, in turn, the first certainty was gained also for the colors that were fashioned, whereas the need for distinguishing green and blue was satisfied by words which were still vague, such as "parakeet-colored."

171 192 811 One more thing must not be forgotten. The Indian does not form general judgments, such as "the trees are green, the sky is blue." Nothing induces him to analyze this view presented to him by the external world; it is of no interest to his person in any activity and is something taken for granted, such as that water is wet. What does interest him in making distinctions according to color is animals and plants. His principal application of the color names acquired is here and it is necessary to find out here how he proceeds with color names in his own usage.

171 192 825 With this in mind I looked through the list of animal names in the glossary of Martius, in which some 1300 have been collected from the total literature. "Parakeet-colored," cugui, for "blue and green" is used only a single time in the case of a

/422 cont./

171 boa-snake which Martius calls "viridis vel azureus Coluber
192 aestivus L." The ordinary distinctions according to color, the
●825 number of which is smaller than one would expect, are black, white, red, and yellow; without placing any importance on absolute accuracy, I count 28 birds, 23 fish, 9 mammals, 4 snakes, and 12 lower animals which are differentiated according to those four colors. But now two more words occur for "colorful" /bunt, "gay-colored, mixed, spotted"/, one of which, pinima, with the verb "to paint" of the same stem, is used for fish, three birds, the jaguar, one snake, one lizard, one crayfish, and the other, paragoa, means simply "parrot" and also furnishes a parrot-fish and a parrot-snake. Pure "green" is always parrot-colored or parakeet-colored; where a "blue" is to be distinguished, the animal is also given the additional word una (burned) = black or dark.

171 It cannot be expressed more clearly that the Indian is in-
192 duced to make a sharp color-distinction only when it is a matter of color qualities familiar to him from the dyestuffs, in other words, that his own experience, not his sense of color, furnishes the material for the sharply defined concepts.

171 The list of plant names by Martius, somewhat over 1000 in
192 number, offers an interesting comparison. Eight plants are given
824 the title black, 7 white, 7 red, 2 yellow. It is obvious that among the plants "green" does not form a distinguishing mark. Yet here, too, we come across on one occasion the cugui or "parakeet-colored," sometimes translated "green," sometimes "blue," and, to be sure, it corresponds to /423/ a specific blue, since it refers to Indigofera anil L. Three plants are "colorful," but "pinima"; the parrot-colorfulness (paragoa) is lacking.

171 The natives could have obtained indigo from the plant just
386 mentioned, but they did not know how. Martius asserts that in the manufacture of indigo the Brazilian industrialists use Indian labor, that it was first introduced by the Portuguese and produces a not very desirable kind. Genipap-black has a blue tinge and thus corresponds very well to the referring of blue to black in the color designations. The blue of the tattooing also comes from the black.

[192]
[304]

/255 cont./

539 775 In the sky the shadow, which had already been changed previously into a Kɣadopa or Caprimulgus, reaches its final evalution by transubstantiating into the Yamüra. For an explanation of this word, we need not go beyond the Bacaeri: Yamüra plainly comes from Yamu, "dark," and signifies the dark, gloomy principle.

It is natural to inquire whether the icekiko, that is, the belongings, the "baggage" as I. translated it, which are put with the dead man, /256/ undergo a transformation similar to that of the owner. The texts do not answer categorically, but lead one to understand that this is the case, because the yamüra own canoes, baskets, clubs, which are, however, in no way similar to those used on earth: they are animals. The reader may judge this according to the following passage.

539 825 Anta is the basket of Yamüra; Anta goes about on the back of Yamüra, --Yamüra goes to eat mandioca, to eat squash, to eat gourds, to eat beans; it is not the Anta that eats;--in the basket Yamüra gathers squash, gathers beans, gathers gourds, etc.; when he gathers Yamüra carries away.

Also the Queixada /white-lipped peccary/--the Queixada comes to the clearing to eat mandioca--the Queixada also comes on the back of Yamüra--it roots up mandioca, it roots up cará /Dioscorea/, it roots up batata, --when it roots up, Yamüra carries it away, the Queixada;--this is why Queixada is not to be found--Queixada does not appear because Yamüra hid it.

Also the Anta, etc.; at midday the Anta sleeps, it walks at night, etc.

Caitetú /collared peccary/ is also basket of Yamüra. Caitetú only goes in threes; it digs up tree roots, it digs up mandioca roots, it digs up cará roots, it digs up batata roots.

In his resting place, Yamüra makes mingáu, grates mandioca, cooks cará, cooks batata, bakes beijú.

/256 cont./

539 825 Tracajá /a species of turtle/ is the gourd of Yamüra;--inside the Tracajá he mixes and seasons his drink, he drinks his drink;--Tracajá is the maracá /gourd rattle/ of Yamüra, etc. Jahú /Paulicea lutkeni/ is the canoe of Yamüra--inside Jahú he grates mandioca, extracts the polvilho /fine manioc flour/, prepares manipueira /milky juice of grated manioc/, etc.; this is why, when Jahú is caught, one pays--one pays with mingáu, one pays with pirão. Yamüra comes to drink mingáu in the house, --this is why one puts mingáu on the path, puts pirão, etc.

/257/ Also the Jacaré /cayman/: Jacaré is the grater of Yamüra--it grates mandioca, it grates cará, it grates batata, etc.

Also the Sucuri /water boa/ is the net with which Yamüra fishes--Yamüra catches deer /veado/, catches paca, catches cotia /agouti/, etc.; this is why, when Sucuri is killed, there is thunder, there is rain, etc.

The pintado fish is the club of Yamüra;--the Ray is the baking grill of Yamüra; on the top of the ray, Yamüra bakes his beijú, bakes his fermented mandioca, bakes his polvilho, toasts mudubim.

A naturalist might note in connection with this passage that the Cotia (Dasyprocta aguti) "spends most of the day hidden in a hollow trunk or in a hole underneath the roots and at nightfall goes out looking for food"; that the Paca (Coelogenys paca) "leads primarily a nocturnal existence, sleeping during the day in a hole which it digs itself, preferably underneath the roots of a tree, and comes out at nightfall"; that the Marsh Deer /Veado galheiro, '"big-horned deer"/, at least, "in late afternoon, after sunset, during the night, and at dawn comes out in search of food"; that Queixada and Caitetú (Dycotyles) come out "now during the day, now at night, in search of food, digging the ground for roots"; that the Anta "in inhabited regions leads primarily a nocturnal life;

/257 cont./

539 in quiet areas, where there are no human beings, it is always
825 on the move in the morning and afternoon, except during the hot hours in the middle of the day which it spends sleeping"; in other words, all of the phrases between quotation marks, taken from the book by Dr. Goeldi on the mammals of our land (pp. 92, 99, 103, and 106), confirm what has been said concerning the shadowy character of the Yamũras.

539 /258/ Other considerations, however, seem to us of
174 greater moment.

First of all, in the enumeration of the belongings of the Yamũras, we have a basis for a list of the cultural acquisitions of the Bacaeris. We learn that they had nets for fishing before they had nets /hammocks/ for sleeping, that they traveled by water when they did not yet have pestles, and that they probably had maracá before they had the masks with which they appear at their festivals.

539 We also see that although theoretically the abode of the
776 Yamũra is in the sky, a large part of his existence is spent on the earth from which he derives his sustainance. Subsistence, however, is not his sole concern; free of the contingencies of time and space, he travels swiftly as the wind, he is an envious being who spies upon all actions and weighs upon the living with crushing pressure. There is hardly an act that he does not influence: gestation, childbirth, alimentation, festivals, walking hours, everything falls within his inexorable reach, as we shall see later. It would seem that the Bacaeris could paint their bodies as they please. But this is not so.

776 Yamũra does not like urucú, --this is why one must not
789 scatter the urucú seed, says the piahi;--Yamũra goes into the
824 houses of people with children, --this is why we burn the juice
302 of the rubber tree--when it is burned it is rubbed on the door;--fathers of boys, when they go to the river, paint themselves with genipap, --paint themselves with urucú, --so Yamũra thinks that it is blood; if the boy's father does not paint himself

/258 cont./

776 and goes to the river, Yamüra throws himself in the water;--
789 he likes guanandi /Calophyllum brasiliense/ resin;--burned
824 cotton seed makes Yamüra run far /259/ away; Yamüra is very
302 fond of colored clay and loam;--he does not like copaiba resin;--when jatobá is burned Yamüra does not like it, says the piahi.

796 Finally, since there are certain animals which for him are
825 a means of subsistence, his ferramenta /iron tools/, if it is permissible to say this in connection with peoples who have not reached the metal stage, it is natural that Yamüra should protect them with the same care and vigor with which a Bacaeri
784 would protect his canoe or his bow. There are animals whose injury is punished immediately: for example, the Sucuri, in one of the passages cited above, or the Topiéhi, a little bird that will be dealt with more conveniently later on. These are truly tabú or tapú, an expression used in Australia, and which, being widely known, demands no explanation. It is possible to come to terms with regard to the others, and this is done in a most reasonable way, by giving to the Yamüra in prepared form the food that he would have to prepare in the campo.
782 It is mandatory, however, that the dead animal be put to good
796 use; otherwise antas, pacas, and pigs will attack clearings,
532 destroying them; and to propitiate the Yamüra it is necessary to give a feast, naturally masked, which they attend incognito. After eating well, they regard themselves as satisfied and the scourge ceases.

825 The following passage expresses more clearly the idea of
796 payment, and, although it is somewhat repetitious, it is not
782 redundant.
796

If the Guariba /howler monkey/ (Mycetes) is killed, it must be paid for, says the piahi; if the macaco Coatá /spider monkey/ (Ateles) is killed, if the Preguiça /three-toed sloth/

/259 cont./

825 (Bradypus) is killed, pay for them with mingáu;--if no payment
796 is made, Yamüra will seize our shadow; Imiga (Cebus?) /260/
782 is the domestic animal that is the creation (erí) of Yamüra;
796 if you cut down forest in which Yamüra dwells, pay for it;--
seek out a place to hold a festival; makanari is payment for
the forest (13);--then, when Yamüra had drunk mingáu, he

[114]
[115]

13. After he had dictated this passage, I. expressed doubts as to whether the dance was the makanari or some other one.

goes far away (14).

[171]
[114]

14. Matias Ruiz Blanco notes a variant of the same idea among the Indians of Peritú (Colombia): "When the Indian brings in a deer or wild boar, the woman comes out with a tutuma of the drink that they make out of maize, and she opens the animal's mouth and gives it some to drink out of courtesy so that its soul will tell the others about the good treatment given to it" (Conversión de Piritú, 64, Madrid reprint.).

796 Makanari is the name of one of their festivals, and this would be the proper place to discuss them, if unfortunately, the scanty information that exists concerning this were not deficient, concealing all the ritual and devotional aspect which is its essence. We shall return to it on another occasion,

/261 cont./

776 have with the piahi and with the common people (wanololo,
756 from waono, "first"; cf. Ger. "der erste der beste" /first come
773 first served/.

776 At the waterfalls of the Paranatinga, a fearsome place
778 where Keri and Came tossed the Mama, an enchanted red
756 stone /262/ with which they killed Mero and Arimoto, there is underneath the Mama the dream (Vèdu) which they tore from the lizard's eyes. There dwells the father of smallpox (turi); those who come near him fall ill; when the time for the leaping of the matrimxans /a kind of fish/ comes, anyone nearby who talks or laughs is thrown into the water. The curer runs no risk by coming near; if he becomes angry, he can bless the sleep and this one gets up and wanders off.

756 How does the curer reach this fullness of powers which in his discourses he so often hurls at those whom he contemptuously calls "common people"? Through a very long and painful apprenticeship, which few persons have the courage to undergo to the end and to the letter.

First of all, the curer candidate (piahi-he-ini) must find an experienced curer who will tell him what he must do and protect him against the enemies whom he is bound to encounter. On his part, in addition, the future curer must not leave a single breach through which the enemy, the Karówi, might enter, the so envious and so evil yamũras, whose principal occupation, it would seem, is to go in search of the slightest carelessness in order to punish it inexorably.

Such is the object of the rigorous training to which he must submit if he wishes to rise to the heights where the true curer dwells.

[276 The novice begins by drinking various drugs, such as
825] timbo, pindova, vaimbé, and other cipos, in order to learn
[262] the language of animals and of Karowi, a sort of Curupira; he cannot eat pirão, mingáu, fat, meat, lambari /a kind of fish/, flying things, /263/ tamanduas, or honey; his food consists exclusively of beijú and polvilho broth.

/263 cont./

756 He does not live in the village, but in a house apart, the
346 dance house (Kʸadóeti), where festivals are held and guests accommodated, and where women may not enter; he cannot speak to the latter, and for greater safety, not only does the master curer frighten the novice by telling him that the voices he hears are not those of women but of Karówi, but he slings his hammock across the door so that his disciple cannot go out in an unguarded moment.

825 After a time the master and disciple go wandering about, and the latter, who has easily learned the language of Karówi, begins to speak the language of the jaguar. This is a sign that the initiation is nearly over; the curer gives him the cipó de cobra /caapeba/ (aʃukur-iokχu), the piahi candidate dies, becomes yamüra, and goes to the sky to present himself to Nakoeri.

796 Nakoeri, whom we already know, owns many domestic
825 animals: araras, pombas /Columbiformes/, rolas /small Columbiformes/, jacus, jacucaca, mutum, maracaña, parakeets, parrots, toucans, araçari, anuns, chickens, tamanduas, etc. What these animals have in common, only a naturalist familiar with the Indians' way of thinking could state with any certainty. Some seem to have been chosen on account of the brilliance of the plumage, others for their early-rising habits, and others, finally, because of the fact that they disappear for a time, reappearing fatter, as though they had dwelt in greener pastures.

756 The differences between the curer and the common
796 yamüra begin after death: the latter, as has been seen, climbs /264/ a cotton ladder; the disciple and master climb together, but how this is done is not stated.

When the piahi-he-ini goes to see the sky, the sky dwellers see him coming from afar; Who goes there? the yamüras say to Nakoeri; then Nakoeri appears at the door;

/268 cont./

756 776 774 It has been mentioned that in certain cases both the piahi and the yamüra can take the shadow of a person who has offended them; but only the piahi can return what he took; and, conversely, he can return the shadow stolen by a yamüra.

825 196 This leads us to mention Topiehe, a Mato Grosso bird which we were unable to identify and in whose name there is probably the same radical as is found in piahi and epiwado.

825 774 756 755 Topiehe, when killed, steals the person's shadow; this is why Topiehe is not killed; it takes a person's shadow far away; then the person dies. The house of Topiehe is in the sky; the Topiehe does not die /269/ really, says the piahi. The one who (seemingly) killed the Topiehe becomes cold; when he reaches home, he falls ill; then the piahi is called, and when he arrives, the bench is washed very clean; then the tail of the arara is tied with cotton to the maracá. While the curer is doing this, no one speaks, and the fire is put out; the bench is placed at the door, and the curer holds it, plays the maracá, and then shouts. When he is not near, yamüra does not come quickly. When he arrives, the bench moves and if the curer does not make it fast, it runs away; this is why the curer does not let go of the bench, on which sits yamüra, with whom the piahi converses: Don't you see, relative, I am calling, I am talking, I am singing, I am shouting, says the curer. I did this, because he committed this crime (inutudohe), answers Topiehe. -- He is a human being, he does not know what he is doing, that is why he killed you, answers the curer. When the piahi spoke, Topiehe said: Take him. When the cotton was grasped our shadow is above and then the murderer gets well. After the return: I am going away, I heard your shout and this is why I came, says Topiehe. When Yamüra goes away, the people talk, the curer goes to the patient; he was sick because he killed Topiehe; Topiehe is not to be killed, says the curer.

/270 cont./
776 of a higher order because they come back to life after they
775 have died and return to live among men.
752 Aside from these three principles, we find unclear figures and concepts, probably vestiges of older ideas.

776 Dr. C. v. d. Steinen speaks of Kilaino oroiko, which he
[114] translates as "devil." I. is not familiar with such a being, but simply /271/ Kilãino, evil beings who dwell in the forest or in the hills, assume various forms, eat mice and small birds, do not pass water, hide dead game and the arrows shot, the things that fall from people's hands; answer the shouts of a person, and shout in order to mislead those who walk through the forest.

[171] Of the same type are: K'arowi, who goes about at night, carrying a toad for an ax, always animated by the desire to do evil to the Bacaeri, but usually duped by the latter, in short similar to the Curupiras of the Amazon as they appear in the stories collected by Barbosa Rodrigues; and Ywanaguroro, the lord of the hunt, easy to identify because one side of his chest is larger than the other, and he kills against it the persons who offend him--a figure similar to the Caipora of the Tupi.

776 There is also mention of a lake where the grandfather
825 of the cachorro fish, the grandfather of the piranha, the grandfather of the snake, the grandfather of the otter, the grandfather of the needlefish, the grandfather of drums, etc. dwell. Ghosts appear in the middle of the water. No anta, capybara, or queixada goes there, no flying thing flies across it. Ancient Bacaeris took a canoe there, but a whirlpool overturned it, the Kxurixio (a sort of enchanted otter) ate them, and only the dead men's bellies appeared.

The jaguar assú, the horse assú, the queixada assú, the turtle assú, the crab assú of fresh water, etc. are also there. Everything is swinging at the edge of the water. The Kxurixio and the Kxuxobe shake their heads which sound like thunder, and those who hear this sound fall ill and die, and those who see the grandfathers of the animals also die. /272/ At the edge of the lake there is a swamp, and the lake is the semen of animals.

/272 cont./

829 The idea of "Lord" appears often, but it is not easy to
776 understand what it means. When a Bacaeri states that the white
825 man is the lord of the mirror, naturally he means that he first saw this object in the hands of the Caraibas. What does he actually mean, however, when he states that the lord of the rain is the parakeet?

776 It also seems natural that, if certain things have lords, the latter be paid or granted some token of respect or homage. Only one such case is mentioned, however; those who make hammocks, before using them, sling them outside the house in homage to the Coandú /coendou/, lord of hammocks, so that their hair will not turn white. A story about a great cataclysm brought about by the death of the newt, lord of the wind, is also told.

In view of all this, the following list of lords is of minor interest, since it will only be of use if new comparative data become available:

776 The lizard is the lord of sleep; the fox, the lord of fire;
825 the parakeet, of rain; the newt, of wind; the curiango /Caprimulgus/, of the fishing hook; the urubu is lord of the bench; the sea snail, of the sun; the sucuri, of the fishing net; the heron, of the boquité (a type of basket); the uga (a kind of lizard), of the grater; the porcupine is lord of thorns; the kingfisher, lord of fish; the coendou, lord of smoke and also of the buriti net; the deer is lord of the mandioca, etc.

825 /273/ This shows that the Bacaeri does not make a very
794 great distinction between human beings and animals. For
196 "to wish" they use two words: ieyi, first person, which is applied to an animal raised by a human being; and anayido, a generic term, simply the plural of anayi, which means "who" and "someone." There is nothing strange about this, considering that human beings and animals have shadows and speak in the same fashion.

824 The trees also have shadows and speak.
794

/263 cont./

about three centimeters square made of tree bark. After the seclusion boys and girls were eligible for /264/ marriage. Marriage, todohokûinle, was joined by the parents of the young people by means of an exchange of gifts, and it does not seem to have merited any special ceremony.

The Bakairí do not seem to have believed in the possibility of a natural death. After death, which was always caused by the sorcery of some enemy, the corpse was painted and attired in the finery used in life. The corpse was rolled up in the hammock used by the deceased, and buried with the head pointing west and the feet east. There followed a mourning period, during which the closer relatives remained uanki and from which they emerged through the tadaundino feast.

The world of the Bakairí was surrounded by supernatural beings, good and evil, such as the iamîira, upiehe, karoui, kadopa, and kilaimo. (5) Plants and animals were nothing but

5. Capistrano de Abeu, "Os Bacaerys," Revista Brasileira, Year I, Vol. 4, pp. 44, 45, 47, 48, 234, 240, 241. Rio de Janeiro, 1895.

drapery used by the iamura and kadopa. Hunting, fishing, and agricultural activities thus had to be accompanied by propitiatory activities intended to appease the anger of the iamîira deprived of their animals and plants. On the other hand, karoui and kilaimo wandered through the forest menacing the Bakairí. Against such beings the Indians required the protection of their sorcerer-doctors as well as periods of seclusion in the most dangerous moments.

The Bakairí believed that men had two souls: one called kati or kutaiu, heavier and thicker, corresponding to a camisa worn as the second soul, kagatopuri, a more fluid element that

/265 cont./

796 Bakairí: /266/ Kitaimo, Karoui, Inanaguroro, and Topiehe. Kitaimo is a wandering spirit that wanders through the forest at night. Karoui is the sorcerer-doctor's enemy; he possesses an axe in the shape of a toad. Inanaguroro is the lord of hunting; one of the sides of his chest is larger than the other, and he clasps against it and kills the Indians who offend him. Topiehe is a bird whose death would result inevitably in the death of the guilty party. There was also a lake inhabited by maleficent supernatural beings, and where animals reached gigantic proportions.

825 Capistrano de Abreu mentions the attribution of special powers to certain animals. Thus the lizard was the lord of sleep; the fox, of fire; the urubu, of bonches; the sea snail, of the sun; the porcupine, of thorns; the kingfisher, of fishes; the deer, of manioc. (12)

12. Capistrano de Abreu, op. cit., Vol., 4, p. 242.

756 The sorcerer, piaji (piahi or piaje) performed very important functions among the Bakairí. Besides the function of curing illness, he performed such tasks as the prediction of enemy attacks, the localizing of game, the finding of lost objects, and interceding with supernatural beings when necessary.

753 For the Bakairí illness was always caused either by hostile sorcerers or those in the service of enemies, or by spirits such as the iamiira, topiehe, inanaguroro, or karoui. On being called to heal a sick person, the piaji requested the assistance 756 of his guardian iamiira with the help of a gourd which he shook 755 in accompaniment to songs of invocation. On examining the patient, the piaji decided upon the cause of the illness, whether it had been induced by an enemy or by a spirit. In the second case, the piaji would intercede with the offended 000 spirit, appeasing it. But in the event the illness had been

/268 cont./

534 sticks decorated with geometric designs. These sticks are still used in Bakairí dances in Simões Lopes.

535 533 Our informants remembered the following dances and songs: oriko, a dance performed with the help of the adorned sticks, at no specific time; iauaisári, the maize song; mahulauari, performed at the time of the construction of a new house; pahoevatá, performed at the time of the ceremony of the perforation of the boys' ears, and the maize celebration, or anjéintabiénli.

535 532 825 [784] In the sacred dances, barred to women, masks representing various animals were used. In our opinion these masks did not represent the animals proper but rather the iamúra, lords of these animals. This would justify the fact that these representations are so far removed from reality, even in terms of native art.

703 The Bakairí myths related by Karl von den Steinen and Capistrano de Abreu mention Tchini (or Keri, the sun), Numa (or Kame, the moon), (16) and Nakoeri. (17) Tchina and Numa

16. Karl von den Steinen, op. cit., pp. 447-492.

17. Capistrano de Abreu, op. cit., Vol. 4, pp. 45-50, 235-240.

or Keri and Kame, the sun and the moon, are twin creator heroes of the Bakairí. The same task of /269/ creating the 516 [194] Bakairí is attributed to Nakoeri. The nonexistence of moieties among the Bakairí leads us to regard the myth of the twin heroes as a borrowed feature, since there does not seem to be a justifying correspondence in their social organization. The 539 Paranatinga Indians told us the following myth:

Iamadili or the Origin of the Day.

In the beginning the world was so dark and so cold that the Indians had to cover their bodies with

&Obeng E-S (1967)1853 SPI Bacairi SP9
[P.79-A]

539 again "Is this right?" Keri responded "Now it is." Then Keri let go the red uvuld who was furious.

At that time the moon was made of japú feathers, the sun of toucan and red arara feathers and the red of the sunset of toucan feathers. This was what the ancient ones were taught. If it is different now, as you say, I know nothing about it, nor does anyone else. Then someone had to blow in order to make the sun turn to fire.

Keri thought for a long time about what he should do with the sun and the moon. It was always day. Ewaki, also, could not tell him what to do. At last he made a big pot and put it over them. Then it was dark. Keri gave the moon to Kame. When he took away the pot it was day. . . .

Sleep and Bartiy Hammocks. I do not know if the necessity to sleep manifested itself with the long continuation of the twilight by the sun when it was still uncovered, but in any case Keri and Kame wanted badly to sleep, but they did not know how. Disconcerted, they went to find Ewaki, their always well-informed aunt, who told them where they could find sleep. Po, the lizard, owned sleep. He received Keri and Kame kindly and said, "Oh, my grandsons." They stayed at his house and lay in a hammock of bartiy and slept. When they awoke, they felt better. The next morning they said goodby and went away taking the hammock which the lizard had given them.* On the road, after they had walked a league, they wanted to try to sleep. They lay down in the hammock but were not able to sleep. They tried and tried in vain. They returned then to the lizard's house, they caught him and pulled out his eyelids, of which they took a very large piece. The lizard became very angry but Keri and Kame now had eyelids and were able to sleep.

Exchange of Heaven and Earth. It was also at that time that Keri left the heaven. "At first the earth was heaven; here, where we are now, the Bakairí were not born. The heaven has a floor, the same as the earth. Heaven and earth are very close to one another; from there one can cross over to here." Keri said to heaven, "You should not stay here. My people die here. And you want to stay here? You are good. But I do not want my people to die." Heaven responded, "I want to stay here." Keri said then, "Then I move." He went with all the people to the earth and the heaven went there where it is now, and where today one is able to see that everything happened as the Bakairí say.

Fire. Keri and Kame went to Ewaki who sent them to go and get fire. The fox owned the fire. He had it in his eye where it gave a leap when he wanted to light a fire. The fox (*Cassis cotulus* "matchas crayfish and crabs," Ehrhm *Saugetiere II* S. 57) had put out a low-net to catch fish. Keri and Kame went there and found in the low-net a "jojum" fish and a snail. Keri entered the "jojum" (a smooth lake fish about 4 inches long) and Kame entered the shell. "Each was well hidden in his animal." The fox came, singing, and made a fire. Then he went to see

* Another time I was told that before there were hammocks, people slept standing up, leaning against trees. Protection against snakes and malignant insects is really one of the greatest advantages of the hammock.